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UKRAINE

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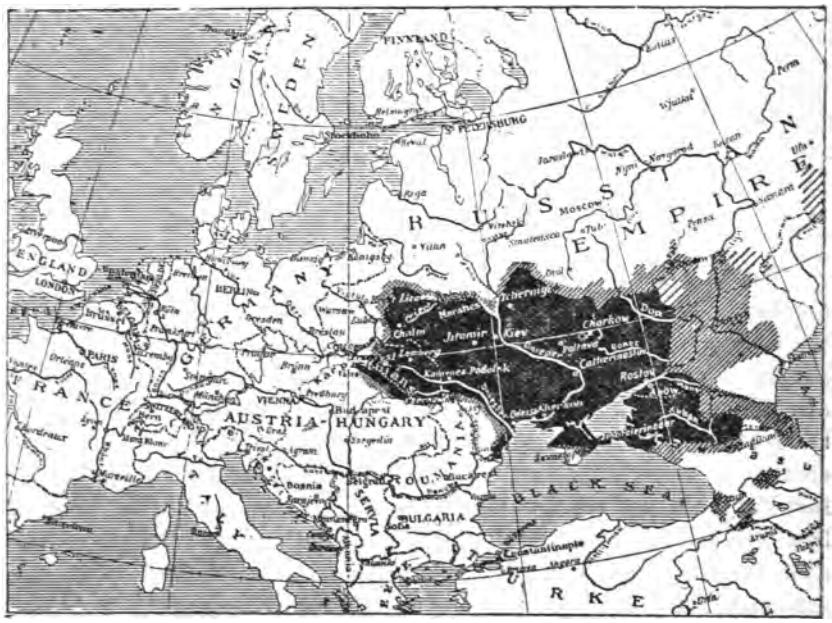
B. OF I. R.

"You are aware, as I am aware, that the airs of an older day are beginning to stir again, that the standards of an old order are trying to assert themselves again. There is here and there an attempt to insert into the counsel of statesmen the old reckoning of selfishness and bargaining and national advantage which were the roots of this war, and any man who counsels these things advocates a renewal of the sacrifice which these men have made; for, if this is not the final battle for right, there will be another that will be final. Let these gentlemen who suppose that it is possible for them to accomplish this return to an order of which we are ashamed, and that we are ready to forget, realize they cannot accomplish it. The peoples of the world are awake and the peoples of the world are in the saddle. Private counsels of statesmen cannot now and cannot hereafter determine the destinies of nations. If we are not the servants of the opinion of mankind, we are of all men the littlest, the most contemptible, the least gifted with vision. If we do not know courage, we cannot accomplish our purpose, and this age is an age which looks forward, not backward; which rejects the standard of national selfishness that once governed the counsels of nations and demands that they shall give way to a new order of things in which the only questions will be, 'Is it right?' 'Is it just?' 'Is it in the interest of mankind?'

"This is a challenge that no previous generation ever dared to give ear to."

(From President Wilson's Memorial Day Address at Suresnes Cemetery, France)



The above is the ethnographic map of Ukraine, comprising a territory of 330,000 sq. mi., nearly seven times that of New York State.

The population of ethnographic Ukraine is nearly 50 million: 38 million Ukrainians, who in a compact mass inhabit the territory extending from the Carpathians to the Caucasus and from the Pripet River to the Black Sea; the remainder, over 10 million, consists of national minorities—Muscovites, Jews, Tatars, Poles, Greeks, and others, all of whom either live in small groups as the Tatars in the Crimea and the Muscovites near the Sea of Azov, or else they are scattered over the whole of Ukraine.

The capital of Ukraine is Kiev, an old city with a population of over 600,000. Odessa is the largest seaport, having now a population of over 800,000.

The natural wealth of Ukraine is greater than that of any other country in Europe. Practically all of Ukraine lies in the so-called Black Earth Belt, a soil that is unexcelled for the production of wheat. The Katerinoslav District in the Donets Basin is exceptionally rich in good coal and iron ore. Near the Carpathians in Galicia there are many excellent pockets of oil. There are large oil fields also in the Kuban District, which has been inhabited by the Zaporozhian Cossacks since 1784. Salt is mined in Galicia, in Ukraine in the vicinity of Kharkov, and near the Sea of Azov. Other natural resources abound throughout Ukraine.

The climate of Ukraine is very pleasant and salubrious.

Ukraine is distinguished also for its natural beauty; the Ukrainian sky and the Ukrainian night are famous in European literature.

The Ukrainian people are a people of an ancient culture; they are an individualistic people who cherish, value, and defend the individual rights

of the citizens, and particularly of the kernel of the Ukrainian people, the farmers, who are a most stable basis for a modern democratic State.

For nearly 1000 years the Ukrainian people have been successfully defending their ethnographic territories from eastern and western invaders. In spite of the terrible wars the Ukrainian people have fought in the course of history, they have not yielded an inch on their western frontier; in the northeast, east, southeast, and south, they have colonized new lands.

The Ukrainian people are famed in history as a really democratic people. Already by the time of Cromwell, Ukraine was a republic with an elected president called *Hetman* and with other elected state officers.

When Poland conquered Ukraine, she introduced the Polish feudal system of slavery and brought the Polish nobility with its concomitant tyranny and oppression. The Ukrainian people rebelled repeatedly against this oppression and slavery. Every Ukrainian war against Poland was a war for the emancipation of the Ukrainian people from Polish slavery.

In 1654 the greater part of Ukraine united with Muscovy. Soon after, when Muscovy grew into the large Russian Empire, scheming for world dominion and basing her imperialistic policies upon a centralistic, autocratic *regime*, she gradually deprived the Ukrainians of all national rights and made the Ukrainian Republic into a mere Russian province. The Ukrainian people struggled ceaselessly against this subjection.

Not until the collapse of the Central European and Russian Empires last fall did there come an end to Polish and Muscovite tyranny in Ukraine. The Polish and Muscovite imperialists, however, refuse to acknowledge this change. The Polish imperialists desire to restore the Polish Empire of 1772 by the force of arms; the Muscovite imperialists are equally desirous of restoring the Russia which existed before March 15, 1917, when the Russian Czar signed his last decree.

The Polish imperialists began their war for conquest against their eastern neighbors, the Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, and Lithuanians. They occupied Ukrainian Kholm, invaded Polissye (in the neighborhood of the Pripet River) and Volhynia, and started a determined war against the newly organized Republic of Galician Ukraine.

The Polish war against the Ukrainian Republic of East Galicia (known lately as West Ukraine) was waged bitterly for six months before the Polish Junkers were successful in driving the Ukrainian troops out of the young Ukrainian Republic. The Polish side in the war is taken by the corrupt nobility, and by men trained in the school of Prussian Kultur propagated by such politicians as Roman Dmowski, Stanislaw Grabski, and other leaders of the Pan-Polish party, which emulates in detail the policies and methods of the defeated Prussian Junkers. In opposition to these Polish Junkers and their designs are the four million Ukrainians of Eastern Galicia, who include an intelligent and progressive peasantry, a small number of industrial laborers, and tens of thousands of intellectuals forming an *intelligentsia* that is really of the people, because it has grown from the ranks of the people, works for the people, and is the people's natural guide in their struggle for liberty; it is not like the Polish *intelligentsia*, which is an exclusive caste distinct from the people, and which lives its own separate life.

The Ukrainian people must, of course, defend themselves resolutely against these designs of the Polish imperialists, as also against the greed of the Muscovite imperialists, until they have won justice and until the reign of brutal force has fallen.

In this struggle for democracy which the Ukrainian people have been carrying on for 400 years and in which they have never lost their hope and determination, they have a right to count on the assistance of other democratic nations and to expect the people of America and England in particular not to abandon them. After this long struggle of 400 years' duration, a time has come when these two powerful democracies of western civilization can and should lend Ukraine a helping hand.

America and England should be well aware of the fact that the restoration of Ukrainian liberty would mean the establishment and insurance of peace in Eastern Europe, just as the continued enslavement of the Ukrainian people would be the best guarantee of ceaseless strife in Eastern Europe.

Without regard, however, to whether these two mighty democracies aid Ukraine or not, the Ukrainian people will never give up their struggle for liberty; they will never submit to slavery; they will dedicate everything to the attainment of freedom.

Ukrainian immigrants in the United States, Canada, and Brazil are rising to the assistance of the Ukrainian people. These immigrants come mainly from Eastern Galicia;* hence they regard it as their first duty to defend that Ukrainian province from the invasion of Polish Junkers. In the United States, Canada, and Brazil, the Ukrainians have organized themselves for the defense of their brothers in Eastern Galicia; they have firmly resolved to give their best efforts to a noble cause: the liberation of their native land, East Galicia, from the Polish yoke, and the union of East Galicia to the mother Kiev State, the Ukrainian People's Republic.

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* There are 800,000 Ukrainian immigrants from East Galicia in the United States; 300,000 in Canada, and 100,000 in Brazil; while there are practically no Polish immigrants from that country, because the only Poles in East Galicia are the nobility and the government officials.

UKRAINIAN MEMORIAL

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

To His Excellency WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States.

Mr. President:

The Ukrainians of the United States, organized through the medium of their national institutions and associations in this country, having formed a central political organization known as the Ukrainian National Committee of the United States, respectfully represent: That they are desirous of having introduced and established in their motherland, Ukraine, and the adjacent Russian territory, American ideals of government and the American system of education in order to perpetuate sound democratic principles among their people, and to avert future conflict among races in Eastern Europe which were formerly antagonistic to one another, and to that end respectfully request that the President exercise his great influence and kind offices in this behalf:

1. That the Ukrainian ethnographic territory be recognized as one and indivisible.

2. That the ethnographic contents of Ukraine include the larger part of the former Austrian province of Galicia (61%, or the eastern territory as far westward as the River San); the northern half of the former Austrian province of Bukovina; Hungarian Ruthenia; and the province of Kholm, which last-named province was voted by the Russian Imperial Duma as far back as 1912 to be attached to the Kiev General Government, yet was surrendered to Poland by the Austrian and German military authorities, despite the so-called Brest-Litovsk treaty of peace. These districts, together with Ukraine proper in Southern Russia, constitute the ethnographic Ukrainian State and should be accorded the sovereign powers of statehood.

3. That the inhabitants of this ethnographic Ukraine, as above outlined, be accorded their natural right and opportunity of national *self-determination* through their Constituent Assembly to be elected by free popular vote.

4. That if the eventualities of the Peace Conference, soon to be held at Versailles, should result in the recommendation of a free federation of the peoples inhabiting the territory of former Russia, then that Ukraine be accorded its right and opportunity, as an individual entity, to enter into a free union with the peoples of former Russia on a federalistic basis similar to that which obtains in the United States under the American Federal Compact.

We are seriously apprehensive that if the eastern part of the former Austrian province of Galicia extending westward to the River San, and if the province of Kholm in former Russia be not included within the ethnographic lines of demarcation as indicated in paragraph 2 of this Memorial, perpetual strife and turmoil will go on concerning this contested territory, and an Alsace-Lorraine situation will spring up in Eastern Europe.

Eastern Galicia has been since 1848 the seat of modern Ukrainian culture, and from time immemorial has been clearly defined as Ukrainian land, as likewise has the Province of Kholm.

Hence, we solicit the constructive aid of your Excellency in establishing democratic order and stability in Ukraine, as well as in opening up commercial and industrial relations between our productive motherland and the United States.

We feel that America at its earliest opportunity should avail itself of the rich resources and productivity of Ukraine, and thus prevent its exploitation by interests adverse and inimical.

We tender ourselves ready and eager to answer any and every call of the American Government for any service on our part which may tend toward the attainment of these ends. We shall exert ourselves to the utmost to have the democratic sentiments and sound American views, which are maintained and held by the Ukrainians in America, reflected upon our compatriots in the territory comprising the ethnographic Ukraine, so that through our helpful agency the inculcation of these same principles may be fostered and propagated for the amelioration of their condition and the founding of a Ukrainian Republic based on justice and right.

New York City, November 29, 1918.

UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES,
By its Executive Committee,
(Very Rev.) PETER PONIATISHIN, *Chairman*,
DR. CYRIL D. BILLIK, *Vice-Chairman*,
VLADIMIR B. LOTOTSKY, *Secretary*.

MEMORIAL

Drawn up to the President of the United States of America by the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council of Lviv, which acts as the provisional government of the Galician-Ukrainian State constructed of the Ukrainian territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Mr. President:

The provisional government of the independent Galician State which arose recently from the Ukrainian territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy begs to inform the President that in accordance with the principle declared by him, the Ukrainian people of Austria-Hungary elected the Ukrainian National Council at the national Constituent Assembly held in Lviv, which Assembly simultaneously passed a resolution to unite the Ukrainian territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy into one independent State.

The Ukrainian National Council was established through the election of an Executive Committee of nine, which as the provisional government will attend to the affairs of the State.

In the name of this newly-founded State, its government has now the honor of replying to the note of the Secretary of State of the United States of America addressed on the 18th of October to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Austria-Hungary, inasmuch as the Ministry no longer exists and the note is in reality addressed to all the sovereign peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The above-mentioned note contains a refusal to enter into negotiations with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy concerning an armistice or peace, because, as was stated, the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs, being in a state of war with this Monarchy, have the right to decide upon their own future.

This note contains no mention of other peoples. It does not mention the Ukrainian people, which in Austria-Hungary numbers more than four million souls.

The Ukrainians of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy do not admit that there should be any discrimination between the peoples which are in a state of war with the Monarchy and others, because if there were sufficient motives for making such a discrimination in the matter of an armistice, that act would be inconsistent with the principles advocated by the President concerning the right of every civilized people to unrestricted self-determination.

The issue consists in this—how to form a League of Free Nations which would be founded upon the liberty of states and democratic principles.

The Ukrainian people believes that the principle of unrestricted self-determination of peoples advocated by the President applies equally to the Ukrainian people. The government of the Ukrainian State in the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy grants the President that if there is any lack

of clearness in his note concerning the various peoples of the Monarchy, it is due to the fact that these peoples neglected, to their detriment, to acquaint the political world with their existence and with their efforts.

Let it be permitted us to state a few facts in the matter concerning the Ukrainian people.

From the ninth to the middle of the thirteenth century the Ukrainian people formed a mighty independent state, the ancient Duchy of Kiev, which extended from the San to the Don, and in the south, as far as the Black Sea. This state, which was the foremost defender of civilization in Eastern Europe, crumbled to ruin in the thirteenth century. The one and only cause of this unfortunate collapse was the invasion of Asiatic hordes and nomadic tribes which at different times overran and devastated Ukrainian lands. Poland and Muscovy (Great Russia), finding themselves in more favorable circumstances, saw an opportunity to profit by the difficult position of the ruined Duchy; they seized and appropriated various of its territorial possessions. By the Treaty of Andrussovo (1667) the Duchy of Kiev (called from this time *Ukraine*) was divided between two states. Poland and Muscovy shamelessly exploited this rich country and mercilessly oppressed its population. Polish nobles seized large stretches of land, and the Muscovites forbade the use of the Ukrainian language.

By the partition of Poland, the remainder of Ukraine was annexed to Russia, with the exception of Eastern Galicia which went under the rule of Austria.

It is true that the Ukrainians struggled against national oppression for whole centuries. In the sixteenth century they organized on the Lower Dnieper a Cossack Republic, which was founded upon broad democratic principles, with an elected Hetman or chief.

Under the leadership of Hetmans Chmelnicky and Doroshenko, this political Cossack organization succeeded in uniting all the Ukrainian lands and in winning their complete freedom for some time. But enemies sapped the strength of this organization, and Empress Catherine II dissolved it.

Let it be permitted us to add here that the Ukrainian people was able with its own resources to establish a political organization which was democratic and republican in fact, the only such political organization in all Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From that time the Ukrainian people has always striven for a democratic and constitutional form of government. It could not realize its aspirations until the present political period amidst the awful war of peoples.

The World War has greatly changed the position of the Ukrainian people. One of the greatest miracles which this war of nations has performed is the resurrection of this nation of 40 million souls. To-day this nation is celebrating its resurrection.

The disintegration of Imperial Russia—that artificial conglomerate—was an impulse to the Ukrainian people to build for itself an independent, democratic, and republican State with the capital at Kiev, and in this way to restore the ancient Duchy of Kiev. It is possible, however, that the present form of its efforts to get liberty will not meet full sanction. Although the young State had to submit to a foreign guardianship, we expect the resurrected Ukrainian State to be able to maintain its existence and to take its place in the future League of Free Nations, in accordance with the principle of unrestricted self-determination advocated by the President. We can expect this all the more when we observe that it is to the interest of universal peace that the old Colossus of the East should not be rebuilt; it would again try to resume its imperialistic aspirations.

The establishment of an independent Ukrainian State set free 40 million Ukrainians living in the country extending from the Zbruch and the Pripet to beyond the Don. Four and a half million Ukrainians were left outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian State; it is the aspiration of our people to unite all Ukrainian territories into one political whole. That part of the Ukrainian people which is still struggling for its liberty deserves our special sympathy. Its fate is still uncertain, and its national enemies, Poles and Magyars, oppress it mercilessly. The national territory which is the object of this great dispute comprises the following lands of

the former Monarchy: the so-called Eastern Galicia, from the River San (with the towns Yaroslav and Sianik) to the Zbruch, with the capital Lviv; the northwestern part of Bukovina (with the towns Chernivtsi, Storozinets, and Sereth) to the River Sereth; and finally the northern part of Hungary, with the important towns of Marmarosh-Sihot, Mukachiv, and Uzhorod. All this territory is the inheritance of the Ukrainian people; all natural and historical facts testify that these lands should be returned to the sovereignty of the Ukrainian people.

At the time when the ancient Duchy of Kiev flourished, all the above-mentioned territory was a constituent part of the Duchy. Yaroslav the Wise, son of the Grand Duke of Kiev Vladimir the Great, built the town Yaroslav on the banks of the San as a defense against the neighboring Poles. After the fall of the Duchy of Kiev, another Ukrainian state arose on this territory—the Duchy of Halich-Vladimir, the chief towns of which were Kholm, Halich, Peremishl, and Lviv. In 1254, during the reign of Duke Danilo, this state was raised with the Pope's sanction to the rank of a Kingdom, with the capital at Halich (whence the name Galicia or Halichina).

Near the end of the thirteenth century the house of the Halich dukes died out. The Poles and Magyars then began their depredations upon this fertile country. After a few generations, this territory was seized by Poland.

The Polish domination made the Ukrainian people the proletariat of its own country. Polish *starostas* (feudal magnates with military and administrative rights) appropriated the richest estates and made feudal servants of the peaceful peasants. Ukrainian towns were filled with Polish officials, clerks, artisans, and other Polish elements, all of which received special privileges from the king.

In the first partition of Poland (1772), the kingdom of Galicia and Volodimir (a corruption of Halich and Vladimir) was annexed to the Austrian Monarchy as a crown land. This territory would certainly have become an autonomous Ukrainian province, if its fate had been dependent upon the wish of the majority of the population. But changes arose in the development of the Austrian Empire which brought about the surrender of the Ukrainian people into the hands of the Polish minority.

In 1793 Austria conquered a part of the Polish Kingdom; she seized the Grand Duchy of Cracow with its environs and the Duchies of Oswencim and Zator, which were permanently annexed to the Austrian Monarchy by the Treaty of Shenbrun in 1809.

The Republic of Cracow existed even in 1846. This territory was given the name of New Galicia and later Western Galicia. The Polish aristocracy, enjoying special favors from the Hapsburg Dynasty, persuaded Emperor Francis Joseph to unite Ukrainian Galicia to the Polish Grand Duchy of Cracow and to the Polish Duchies of Oswencim and Zator, and to call all this land the Kingdom of Galicia and Volodimir (Ukrainian Volodimiria on the Bug) with the Grand Duchy of Cracow and the Duchies of Oswencim and Zator. In this way the Ukrainian territory was surrendered to the Poles, the worst enemies of our people. The Ukrainian people protested in vain; for in spite of all protests an artificial Polish majority and a Polish hegemony were set up in this territory.

Fifty years of compulsory life with the Poles, under the Austrian yoke, constitute the period of continuous struggle between the Ukrainian people and its Polish oppressors, who, enjoying the favors of the central government, seized the administration of the country and gave to the institutions of the land and even to the towns an artificial Polish character. At the same time the class of Polish landowners, the so-called *shlachta*, used every possible means for the social exploitation of the Ukrainian population, having the sanction of the central government for this oppression.

It is true that in spite of all this oppression the Ukrainian people was able to produce a numerous *intelligentsia*. By overcoming great difficulties this *intelligentsia* succeeded in instituting Ukrainian secondary schools, and eventually founded important economic organizations which spread over the

whole country. The master stroke of this great intellectual movement and a realization of the efforts to get liberty was the foundation in Lviv of an academy of arts and sciences under the name of the *Shevchenko Society*.

For this part of the Ukrainian people, the hour of freedom struck when the moldering political organization of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire began to fall to pieces as a consequence of the Great War and equally as a consequence of the principle declared by the President. Our brothers in Russian Ukraine profited by the collapse of the Russian Empire and declared an independent Ukrainian State; in a similar manner the Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary profited by the disintegration of the Dual Monarchy and convoked a Constituent Assembly in Lviv on the 18th of October. On the 19th of October this Assembly declared the independence of all the Ukrainian territory in the old Dual Monarchy and founded a sovereign State with the capital at Lviv.

The Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council, acting as the provisional government of the State, begs to inform the President about the formation of this new State.

The territory of this State comprises the following lands:

1. All of Eastern Galicia or the real Galicia (the old Duchy of Halich-Vladimir), whose western boundary is formed by the River San. Also Lemkivshchina, which, though it belongs to Western Galicia, has a solid Ukrainian majority.

2. The Ukrainian part of Bukovina; i. e., the districts of Viznitsya, Zastavna, Kitsman, and Vashkivtsi, and also parts of the districts of Storozinets, Chernivtsi, and Sereth.

3. The Ukrainian territory of Northeastern Hungary, consisting of the following townships: Marmarosh-Sihot, Uhocha, Bereh, Uzhorod, Zemplin, Sharosh, and a part of Selesh (Zios).

In this territory there is a population of 6½ million, of which the Ukrainians form a majority of 70 per cent. or more.

Mr. President:

It could have been expected that the national enemies of the Ukrainian people, having settled themselves comfortably in our land—which for several centuries belonged to them by right of might only—would even now, in spite of the fact that the World War sounded the death knell for all imperialism and annexationism, advance claims to some parts of our young State. Thanks to the ideas of national freedom and of democracy and brotherhood of free peoples, which the President proclaimed, a new era is dawning for us—an era which forces victory out of the talons of brutal might and which in its triumphal march is attracting the whole world.

The Poles more than anyone else are very loath to part with Ukrainian Galicia and also with Kholm and Polissye, which are exceptionally wealthy and fertile territories. They are employing every possible means to annex these lands to the Polish crown. For some time the Poles were offering the crown to the Hapsburg Dynasty, hoping in this way to get possession of Eastern Galicia. Later they sought the favor of Magyar politicians, especially Count Burian, Count Andrassy, and Count Bastian, who, however, feared to lose the Ukrainian population, which the Magyars exploited to the highest degree. This secret political co-operation of the exploiters exists even in the Polish Kingdom, which is at this time striving for a republican form of government.

Polish politicians wish to deceive the political world; they are endeavoring to prove the necessity of establishing an eastern strategic frontier and are advancing claims to the so-called cultural mission in Ukrainian territory. These are arguments which should not be taken into consideration under any circumstances, because they are incompatible with the principle proclaimed by the President, according to which principle the Polish State may comprise only those territories that are indisputably Polish, and according to which every people is to work out its destiny in its own land without any interference.

With reference to the above-mentioned cultural mission in Eastern Galicia, let us say that it is only the work of colonizers—exploitation and a poor administration of corrupt, mercenary Polish officials, founded to de-

fend the interests of demoralization and lawlessness. A half of a century of Polish administration in Galicia is the best indication of this fact.

The Ukrainians desire the Polish people to develop peacefully and freely in an independent state built of ethnographically Polish territories. They wish to be on friendly terms with all neighboring peoples, including the Poles.

If the greed of Polish annexationists should be satisfied, however, and if any portion of Ukrainian territory should be joined to the Polish State, friction will result in the relations of two contiguous states, and a new war will break out in Eastern Europe.

Peace in Eastern Galicia can be certain and secure only through an accurate ethnographic division of lands among the sovereign states of Poland, Ukraine, and Russia. To that end, rivers of blood were spilled in Eastern Galicia during the World War.

Mr. President:

The Ukrainians are a democratic people; they are the friends of liberty. Here is an instance of this fact: while laying down the general principles of the state constitution, our Constituent Assembly in Lviv regards the Jews as a distinct nation; it grants to all national minorities the right of proportional election, the right of national autonomy, and a representation of the interests of the minority in the government. This indicates that the political organization will rest upon an equal, immediate, and universal right of election. The most important national minority, the Jews, of whom there are one million, support our State and protest against Polish domination.

Mr. President:

Many thousands of Ukrainians, fleeing from the oppression and exploitation which obtain throughout their fatherland, found refuge and protection in America, the land of liberty. These Ukrainians are loyal citizens of their adopted country and faithfully discharge all their duties as citizens.

With full expectation of success, the newly-formed provisional government has turned to the United States and to the great thinker and diplomat, the President of these States, who was destined to bring about a new era in the history of humanity.

Mr. President:

We beg to impress upon the President, the fact of our State's revival, and we beg of the President to extend his powerful protection to our really democratic people, which has suffered so much.

Our State intends to work out its own destiny peacefully and in consistence with the principle advocated by the President. Events will show whether it will choose complete independence or a union with the Ukrainian People's Republic. There is no doubt but that the final decision will answer the aspirations of our whole people. We claim the right to send representatives to the Peace Conference, in order that we may there fully benefit by the right of self-determination.

The provisional government protests against all declarations and discussions pertaining to the Ukrainian lands of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, inasmuch as it only is competent in this matter. At the same time we recommend to the President's notice the accompanying fundamental resolutions of the Ukrainian National Council, as also the resolutions of the Executive Committee.

Accept, Mr. President, our deepest respects.

Lviv (Lemberg), Galicia, October 1918.

The Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council in Lviv, acting as the provisional government of the Galician-Ukrainian State constructed of Ukrainian territories formerly belonging to the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONALITIES OF GALICIA

"Galicia is a battleground of two Slavic nationalities. Where is the source of this struggle?"

This question was propounded by a prominent Polish author a decade ago. This is the question which is asked now by millions of people all over the world. The question occurs of itself to every thoughtful reader of newspaper columns, which are so often full of reports about the bloody strife raging between the Poles and the Ukrainians on the battlefield of Galicia—reports of captures and recaptures of cities, of prolonged sieges, and of sanguine street battles, terminating finally in the passage of all Eastern Galicia into the hands of the Ukrainian troops, with the exception of two cities which are held by the Poles,—viz., the city of Lemberg and the city of Peremishl (in Polish, Przemysl).

However new may appear the struggle between the Ukrainians and the Poles in Galicia, there is really nothing new about it. It is necessary to take only a casual glance at the history of Galicia, in order to convince oneself that this struggle was fought for many centuries. It was, in truth, sometimes subdued to a smouldering state, but it never ended.

To give the cause of the struggle in a nutshell, one feels tempted to quote the words of a famous French writer: "They were enemies because they were neighbors."

Since the very first Slavonic settlement of this country, a settlement which dates back to pre-historic times, the country was divided racially. At the beginning of history, Galicia did not exist. But the racial feud existed already. Along the banks of the River San and farther north along the River Vistula, ran the ethnographic frontier between two groups of Slavic tribes, the

western group of which passed into the structure of the Polish nationality, while the eastern group became a constituent part of the Ukrainian nationality. Both the Polish and the Ukrainian tribes changed their masters often, the Ukrainian princes of Kiev and the Polish princes of Cracow dominating them alternately. In the course of time, however, the racial affinities made for the creation of many national states.

About the end of the eleventh century, from among the host of petty tribal states there came to prominence the state of the dynasty of Rostislavichi (the descendants of Prince Rostislav). From the city of Halich, on the Dniester, they began to mould all the Western Ukrainian tribes into one national unit, which they called Halichina, in Latin, Galicia. Under the leadership of Vladimir and Yaroslav, powerful princes of the dynasty, the country became a great power. Its position between the Poles in the northwest, the Hungarians in the southwest, the nomads in the south, and the flourishing Ukrainian principalities in the east, favored commerce, and gave rise to a prosperous merchant class. Its riches invited invaders, and the country was in constant danger of an attack from the Poles and the Hungarians; while the great distance from the city of Kiev, the seat of kindred Ukrainian princes, made a quick and substantial help impossible. Left to depend upon their own powers, the Galician princes learned very soon the lesson of self-help. The external danger demanded a skilful policy against the Poles, the Hungarians, and the Lithuanians, a new power arising in the north. By clever manoeuvring among these neighboring peoples, the Galician prince Daniel built up a powerful state which comprised not only Galicia but also Lodomeria, the Ukrainian principality of Vladimir (in Volhynia). To his zeal for commerce and industry is to be credited the origin of many cities, including the City of Leo (Lemberg) and Kholm (Holm), of which the latter became his northern capital, and the former became the capital of Galicia after his death.

He was to be the last powerful prince of Galicia. The invasion of the Tartars, against whom Daniel made a heroic stand, devastated the country and weakened it to the utmost. The exhaustion of the country increased the danger of invasion of those western neighbors who, protected by Galicia and other Ukrainian states, suffered from past invasions in a considerably less degree.

The trouble began soon after the death of Daniel. When in 1340, about seventy years after his death, the dynasty of the Galician princes became extinct, Kasimir, the king of Poland, invaded the country, but was driven out by the Ukrainians assisted by other invaders, the Tartars. Kasimir had to satisfy himself with carrying away the insignia of the princes, but several years later he invaded the country again. This time Galicia was conquered and remained united with Poland for more than four centuries.

The Polish rule of Galicia was a ruthless oppression. To be sure, the Ukrainian character of the country received an official

recognition from the Polish government. When Galicia was made, the Ukrainian territory remained for the entire duration of the Polish dominion, a separate administrative unit known as the Palatinate of Ruthenia. But the Poles did all in their power to obliterate that Ukrainian character of the province. Immediately after its incorporation with Poland, merciless persecutions were started against the upper classes with the object of their complete denationalization and Polonization. After the obstinate ones had been driven from the country or killed in the wars, and those willing to deny their nationality had been rewarded with social recognition by the Polish nobility, the rest of the people were reduced to serfdom. A Ukrainian was not permitted to hold any public office, or to study in the schools. In the City of Lemberg, once the capital of Galicia, the Ukrainians were allowed to build churches and make processions only in one single street two blocks long, which up to the present day is called the Ukrainian Street.

Whereas all the cultural life in those times was centred around the church, and the Galician Ukrainians were then of the Eastern Church, this church was subjected to most trying restrictions and persecutions. Even after the Ukrainians of Galicia had accepted the supremacy of the Pope of Rome in dogmatic matters, preserving at the same time their Eastern rites, the persecutions did not stop, and the new church, known as the Uniate Church, was persecuted just as severely as was the Orthodox Church.

The oppression stirred up a counteraction. The first struggle was fought by the Ukrainian aristocracy and nobility. After they had been suppressed or had given up the struggle in exchange for personal comforts and social distinction, the cities through their guilds and brotherhoods continued the struggle for centuries. However heroic and stubborn was their stand, it was a losing fight: the rule of the Polish nobility ruined not only the Ukrainian townspeople, but the Polish as well. Even an abundant infusion of German immigration could not raise the cities from complete economic ruin.

In this critical moment, the townspeople received support from the most glorious movement in the history of Ukraine, known under the name of Cossackdom. From insignificant looting parties which plundered the Tartars and the Turks, grew an organization so vast that it eventually became national in its character and began to champion the emancipation of the Ukrainian serfs, the rights of religious freedom, and the national independence of Ukraine. At the time when Cromwell's revolution was imprinting its indelible stamp on England's soul, the whole Ukraine was united in an upheaval against her social, religious, and national oppressor.

The result of the uprising was the liberation of the eastern part of Ukraine from the Polish rule. The western part, including Galicia, remained under Polish tyranny for more than a century. Long struggles exhausted the country, and the people, tired and weary with centuries of fruitless wars, succumbed in a torpor of

exhaustion. Deprived of their intellectual leaders, denied an access to culture and civilization, subject to brutal exploitation, they seemed finally to have acquiesced to their fate.

But from every oppression not only the oppressed suffers but the oppressor as well. Having conquered a vast empire, the Polish nobility degenerated through laziness and luxury. Upon the stagnation of the intellectual life among the townspeople and villagers, followed a still worse stagnation among the ruling class. The nobleman's exemption from all restrictions engendered intolerance and egotism, and destroyed all patriotism. Political freedom of the nobility degenerated into anarchy, which made any progress of the country impossible.

Such a Poland had to fall. The empire remained intact for a long time in spite of all disrupting forces. The Ukrainian Cossack uprising, however, brought Poland into conflict with Muscovite tsars, with whom the Cossacks made a union, in order to gain an ally. The union did not help Ukraine but it brought about the ruin of Poland. The Russian tsars did not stop wars and intrigues until the Polish Empire disappeared from the political map of Europe.

At the first partition of Poland, the Palatinate of Ruthenia; i. e., ancient Galicia, was ceded to Austria. With it went to that power the Polish principalities of Cracow, Zator, and Oswiencim, populated by a compact mass of Poles, just as Ruthenia (Galicia) was populated by a compact mass of Ukrainians. One might have expected the Austrian rulers to retain the old administrative division of the acquired provinces, a division based upon the actual racial differentiation of the population, and to offer each nationality the right of free and unhampered development. But the Austrian Government had in view every object but this. Austrian rulers were adherents of the extreme centralist idea, and were obsessed with the desire to Germanize all the nationalities subject to their dominion. Their vast empire, a conglomerate of many racial units, they intended to hold together by creating antagonism among these units. Thus to make the paradoxical monarchy still more paradoxical, they crowned their work with a new abortive creation of their scheming mind; namely, the union of all the acquired provinces. The Polish Duchies of Cracow, Zator, and Oswiencim were incorporated into one administrative unit with the Ukrainian Palatinate of Ruthenia, once the principality of Galicia. For this artificial creation the ancient name of Galicia was revived, and since that time for almost a century and a half the name of the ancient Ukrainian state was used to designate an Austrian "crownland", in which the population is approximately equally divided between the Polish and the Ukrainian nationalities. The very fact that Galicia was the largest administrative unit in the whole of Europe, both in regard to its area and in regard to its population, well testifies the artificiality and absurdity of this political creation.

The Austrian policy towards this new abortive progeny was the continuation of the policy that promoted the prosperity of the

Austrian Government from the very beginning. It was the same old Hapsburg policy of intrigue, malicious distortion of the free development of the national life, and of petty bureaucratic meddling, annoyances, and persecutions. The contempt of the Polish landlord and the Polish priest for the Ukrainian peasant and nationality, on the one hand, and the hatred of the Ukrainian peasant towards the Polish landlord, on the other, were coined into remunerative capital by the Hapsburg rulers skilful in the old artifices of "Divide et impera". The desires of the Polish aristocracy to restore the old splendor of the independent Polish State were held in check by clever handling of the centuries-old animosity of the Polish and Ukrainian peasantry towards the nobility. The zealous offorts of the Ukrainian patriots, inspired by the so-called Slavic Revival, to educate their people in their own language, met with very severe persecutions from the Austrian Government. The cities of Galicia were once more in the history of the country flooded with German and Germanized officials, whose only object was to exploit and to Germanize. If any steps were made in the sphere of education, they were made with the sole purpose of creating from among every nationality a host of Germanizers. Even the first beneficial measures introduced by Joseph II, which promised to alleviate the lot of the serfs were soon drowned under the bureaucratic absolutism of the Metternich epoch. In short, the annexation of Galicia by Austria failed to deliver the Ukrainians from their slavery and deprived the Poles of their national freedom.

Metternich's absolutism nearly fell in the revolution of 1848, under the blows delivered to it by the growing liberalism and the awakened nationalism of Hungary, Italy, Bohemia, and other nationalities of the Monarchy. It was saved by the discord among the rebellious nationalities and by the help rendered the dying absolutism of Central Europe by the still vigorous absolutism of Russia. But it was destined to perish shortly afterwards when another blow was delivered to it by the unifying spirit of the Italian and, strange to say, of the German nationalism. This time the emperor saw himself compelled to grant "his peoples" a constitution.

And here again the reader might justly expect that the new constitutional period would be inaugurated by a new policy towards the nationalities of the monarchy; that the nationalities would be granted the right of free development; that the empire would be divided into administrative units along the ethnographic frontiers, and would be transformed into a federation of autonomous nationalities. This was the great chance of Austria.

But the Emperor Francis Joseph knew well how to miss chances. Even when introducing the constitution, he refused to give up the old Hapsburg policy of ruling by dividing. To uphold the aristocracy, it was found expedient to divide the Empire into two almost fully independent parts. The Dual Monarchy took the place of one and undivided Austria. To assure the German rule

in the Austrian part of the Monarchy, it was necessary to divide the power still further. The semi-democratic rule by a pseudo-parliament required some way of securing the majority for the future "constitutional" ministries. The Germans had to look around for an ally. Any compromise with Bohemians and Ukrainians was impossible, as neither of these, at that time, had any aristocracy. Italians could not be taken into consideration because of their small number and the traditional policies of Austria. Therefore the Polish nobility of Galicia offered itself as the natural ally of the Hapsburgs and the German aristocracy. The Poles were then ready to accept such an alliance because the recent failure of their rebellions taught them the bitter lesson of the futility of armed efforts to reconstruct the ancient Polish Kingdom. Thus along with the express Hungarian-Austrian contract, the so-called "Ausgleich" of 1867, there was made an implied contract between the Poles and the Austrian Government. By this scheme the "crownland of Galicia" was preserved in the completeness of its absurdity and anomaly. By a series of laws, the Poles of Galicia were granted the right to deal with the province according to their will. In relation to the central administrative organs, Galicia enjoyed an autonomy considerably broader than that enjoyed by any other province of Austria; internally, it was subjected to a most arbitrary rule of a small minority. The governor of Galicia was a real vice-king in his province; he could defy even the commands of the crown. Only a Pole could be nominated for this post. Similarly, all public offices of the central government which were nominated by the emperor at the recommendation of the governor were as a rule reserved for the Poles. Only a Ukrainian renegade could expect to receive a nomination. This went so far that in 1896 the governor of Galicia vetoed the decision of the senate of Lemberg University to offer the chair of the Ukrainian language to Dr. Ivan Franko, the great Ukrainian writer and philologist, widely known in the country and abroad for his scientific work. By this system of Polonization of the public offices, the cities of Galicia received a considerable infusion of Polish bureaucracy, which together with the Jewish merchant class, constitute the peculiar features of the cities to the present day. Once more Lemberg experienced a change: the receding wave of Germanizers, and the onrushing wave of the Polonizers.

The same is true of the judicial branch of the Government. Here too, the rule prevailed that only a Pole could be nominated to the post.

The same is true of the schools, from the universities down to the elementary schools. All of them had to serve the purpose of Polonizing the Ukrainian population. At the University of Lemberg the Ukrainian language was allowed as the idiom of instruction for a few subjects only. Every admission of a new Ukrainian professor was opposed by the Poles as a gross encroachment upon Polish rights; every time the Poles were forced to yield, the fact was proclaimed by them as an example of Polish

magnanimity, and as a new proof of their just treatment of the Ukrainians. The use of the Ukrainian language was restricted in the teachers colleges, and a law was passed by the autonomous Diet of Galicia prohibiting the establishment of Ukrainian colleges for teachers. Four million Galician Ukrainians were not allowed to have one public, commercial, or industrial school. Polonization was the first object of the elementary schools; education the last. Therefore they were not opened in the villages where the population is purely Ukrainian. Where the school was opened after a prolonged struggle with the "boards of education", the Ukrainian language, the native tongue of the pupils, was treated as a useless foreign idiom. The Ukrainian teachers were sent to Western Galicia to deprive the Ukrainians of the patriotic services of such men.

Similar obstacles were placed in the way of Ukrainian associations of education and enlightenment. Polish associations enjoyed the help and assistance of the public authorities—they were even forced upon the Ukrainian people by the Polish public officers—whereas the Ukrainian societies were refused the governmental recognition, necessary for their legal existence, or were persecuted by a most elaborate bureaucratic chicanery after they were allowed to organize. However improbable it may seem, still it was true that the appropriations for the assistance of the central Ukrainian enlightenment society were passed by the provincial Diet only after a favorable report had been received from the competitive Polish society.

The legislative bodies were also delivered into the hands of the Poles. Formally, the Ukrainians were on a legal level with the Poles, and could elect members to the central parliament in Vienna, to the provincial Diet at Lemberg, to the autonomous legislative bodies of the districts (the so-called "district councils"), and to the local councils. The electoral laws, however, were framed in such a way as to eliminate altogether the voting power of the Ukrainians. These laws, as a rule, were patterned after the notorious class laws of Prussia, and were intended to give the minority of constituents the majority of the representatives. The first breach in this bulwark of aristocracy was made in 1906, when a general suffrage to the Austrian parliament was introduced. But even on this occasion, Galicia was placed under a set of exceptional provisions, which so successfully destroyed all equality and universality of the electoral right that the Ukrainians, who constitute three-fourths of the population of Eastern Galicia, even according to Polish authorities, and who pooled 70% of the votes cast in Eastern Galicia, could elect only 25 representatives out of the total number of representatives of Eastern Galicia. The electoral laws governing the elections to the provincial Diet, to the district councils, and to the local councils remained Prussian up to the outbreak of the war, when all constitutional rights were suspended.

It goes without saying that the power possessed by the Poles in the legislative bodies, in the courts, and other branches of the

government was used to benefit only those who possessed that power. The laws passed by the Galician Diet are one long example of the most narrow-minded caste legislation equal only to that of the Prussian Diet and the Hungarian Parliament. This legislation stifled commerce and industry and pauperized the peasantry in order that the landlords might have cheap labor. Owing to this legislation, Galicia, without any exaggeration, is the poorest country of Europe. The Galician courts were famous for their cynical partiality directed against the Ukrainians. The administrative organs of the province were only lackeys of the nobility. Galician elections were farces renowned for tragic conclusions, arrests, killing of voters by the gendarmes, and wholesale massacres. The financial administration of the province enjoyed well merited proverbial notoriety.

The Poles understood well the game which gave them such power over the Ukrainians, and indirectly over other non-German nationalities of Austria. The Polish representatives in the Austrian Parliament used all their influence to support the system that admitted them to a share in the spoils. The Polish Club in Vienna was the stanchest supporter of all governmental propositions, and the Hapsburg could always rely upon it when a bill providing an increase of the navy or the army was introduced in the parliament. Thus the Poles became part and parcel of the system that was grinding the non-German nationalities of Austria and the non-Magyar nationalities of Hungary for the benefit of three privileged nationalities.

The war did not break the old friendship between the Poles and the Hapsburgs; it rather strengthened it. Immediately after the declaration of the war, the Poles of Austria declared themselves unreservedly on the side of the Central Powers. Polish legions of volunteers were organized and the Polish volunteers in the German armies soon numbered tens of thousands. The privileged position of the Austrian Poles was used as the argument for the Austro-German orientation, according to which Austria and Germany, in case of victory, were bound to establish an independent Polish state. To be sure, Germany was not expected to yield to this state her Polish provinces. But why should Germany or Austria be opposed to Polish occupation of the non-Polish territory stretching east of the genuinely Polish country? The Poles were reminded of the old glory of Poland ruling the Ukrainian black earth to the very Dnieper and almost to the Black Sea. Why could not the Poles be recompensed for the loss of Polish land to the benefit of Prussia by vast stretches of Lithuanian, White Ruthenian, and Ukrainian territories? In such case, Poland would be perhaps much more powerful than Poland embracing all purely Polish provinces.

The Poles were given several tangible proofs of the German willingness to agree to such a plan. They were allowed to govern the provinces occupied by the Austro-German armies in Russia, not only those inhabited by the Poles but also those inhabited by

other races. On November 5, 1916, the Austrian and German Emperors promulgated a decree creating an independent Polish state, granting the Poles all the land east of Poland as far as the firing lines. In a letter published simultaneously, the Emperor of Austria gave the Poles to understand that he was willing to cede to future Poland the whole province of Galicia.

The collapse of Russia due to the Bolshevist activities opened new possibilities for German conquest in the east. The Junker began to parade under the mask of the liberator of the oppressed nationalities of Russia. But to do this successfully, the national problems of Austria had to be solved. Accordingly plans were laid for far-reaching changes in the Dual Monarchy, which was to be transformed into a federation of autonomous nationalities. The plan was received favorably by all non-German nationalities of Austria, with the sole exception of the Poles. The Poles and the Germans saw in the plan a threat against their privileged position in the Monarchy. For the first time in the history of the Austrian Parliament, the Poles came out with an unyielding opposition to the government's plan, this time also together with the Austrian Germans.

Future historians will tell how much the defeat of the plan for the reconstruction of Austria had to do with the dissolution of the Empire. A few months after the heated discussion in the Austrian Parliament on the question of the federal organization of the state, followed Austria's unconditional surrender to the Allies. The nationalities of the Dual Monarchy took advantage of the complete disorganization of the armies and the government, and each of them began to organize an independent government of its own. The Ukrainians, inhabiting in a compact mass the unbroken territory of Eastern Galicia, Northern Bukovina, and Northeastern Hungary, proclaimed their independence.

The independent Ukrainian republic meant abolition of the centuries-long Polish dominion of their country. Although the Ukrainians have never intended to oppress the Polish minorities, dispersed all over the Ukrainian ethnographic territory like ethnographic islands in the ethnographic ocean of another race, yet the Ukrainians would certainly put an end to the rule of the Polish nobility and Austro-Polish bureaucracy. The Polish aristocracy of Eastern Galicia and the public officers of the defunct state saw their privileged position threatened by the new Ukrainian republic. Thus it happened that when the birth of this republic was hailed with joy both by the Ukrainian and the Jewish population of the villages, towns, and cities, as their deliverance from the national oppression of the Poles, the Poles declared war both upon the Ukrainians and upon the Jews of Galicia.

This is not a national war, since neither the Jews nor the Ukrainians are opposed to the creation of an independent Polish state on indisputably Polish territories. This is a war of two principles of international policy, the struggle of the old principle that the minority should rule the majority by force, and the prin-

ciple of democracy that the majority should rule, and that the people themselves should have the right to choose the government under which they are to live.

With the downfall of Germany following closely upon the unconditional surrender of Austria, fell the last obstacle to the union of all Polish lands. The Poles of Russia, Austria, and Germany, separated forcibly for more than a century, could now see their most earnest desires fulfilled. What such a union meant for the Poles of Prussia and Russia, is needless to say; they were passing from the status of oppressed into that of free citizens. The case of the Austrian Poles was altogether different. By their union with the Poles of Germany and Russia they really gained nothing as far as civil liberties were concerned. As to other possible gains from the union of the whole nationality, setting aside the undoubtful good effect upon the development of national culture and upon the international prestige of the country, the Austrian Poles were not gaining very much. Quite the contrary; should the principle of the self-determination of nationalities prevail at the reunion of the three Polands, then Poland would be reconstructed only out of those lands which possess an undeniably Polish population. In such a case, Poland would lose that part of the Austrian province of Galicia, which lies east of the San River and which is populated by a compact mass of the Ukrainian nationality most resolutely opposed to the Polish rule. In this way the Poles of Austria, with reference to their reunion with the Poles of Russia and Germany into one Polish state, had to choose between the principle of self-determination, which is nothing else than the democratic principle of the rule of the majority internationally applied, and their privileged position among the Ukrainians and the Jews of Eastern Galicia. The Polish nobility and the Austrian bureaucracy of the Polish nationality were called upon to sacrifice on the altar of the reunion of Polish lands their right to oppress other nationalities. And this they refused to do.

WEST UKRAINE

(Statistical Survey)

We shall begin our statistical view of the Ukrainian lands with so-called *Hungarian Ruthenia*. Here the Ukrainians inhabit a compact territory of over 14,000 square kilometers. The greatest part of it lies in the Carpathian Mountains and includes the northern three-quarters of the County of Marmarosh, the northeastern half of the County of Ungh, the northern borderlands of the Counties of Semplen and Sharosh, and the northeastern borderlands of the County of Zips. The total number of Ukrainians in Hungary was 470,000 in 1910, a number which, because of the insufficient Hungarian statistics, may be confidently raised to a half a million, if we consider the fact that even the doctored Greek-Catholic figures of the eighties gave approximately the latter number. The percentages of the Ukrainians in different counties, according to official reckoning, are as follows: In Marmarosh 46%, Udocha 39%, Bereg 46%, Ungh 36%, Sharosh 20%, Semplen 11%, Zips 8%. In the east the Roumanians form small scattered language islands, in the west the Slovaks. Amid the Ukrainian population, scattered, but in considerable numbers, live Jews; in the cities, Magyars and Germans besides. The Ukrainians inhabit all the mountainous, sparsely settled parts of the counties, hence the percentage of them is small, despite the extent of the country they inhabit. The Ukrainian people in Hungarian Ruthenia consist almost exclusively of peasants and petty bourgeois. The lack of national schools causes illiteracy to grow rampant. The upper strata of the people are three-fourths denationalized; the common people are stifled in ignorance, and in the consequent poor economic conditions.

In *Bukovina* the Ukrainians, over 300,000 in number (38% of the total population of the land), inhabit a region of 5,000 square kilometers, situated mostly in the mountainous parts of the country. The Ukrainians inhabit the following districts: Zastavna (80%), Vashkivtsi (83%), Vizhnitsa (78%), Kitsman (87%), and Chernivtsi (55%), half the District of Sereth (42%), a third of the District of Storozhinets (26%), besides parts of the Districts of Kimpolung, Radauts and Suchava. Amid the Ukrainian population a great many Jews are settled, scattered, and in the cities many Germans, Roumanians, Armenians and Poles besides. The degree of education and the economic state of the Bukovinian Ukrainians are incomparably better than those of the Ukrainians in Hungarian Ruthenia. From the rural population a numerous educated class has sprung, which has taken the lead of the masses in the economic and political struggle.

In *Galicia* (78,500 square kilometers, 8 million inhabitants) the Ukrainians, 3,210,000, that is 40% of the total population (with 59% of Poles

and 1% of Germans), occupy a compact space of 56,000 square kilometers, in which they comprise 59% of the population. These figures are taken from the census of the year 1910, which, because of its partisan compilation, is perhaps unique among the civilized states of Europe. For not only are all the Jews (who speak a German jargon) listed as Poles, but also all the Ukrainians of Roman-Catholic faith, of whom there is more than half a million, and 170,000 pure Ukrainians of Greek-Catholic (united) faith. Basing our calculations, not on these statistics of the vernacular, but on the statistics of faith, which, too, are not unobjectionable, we obtain the following results: For the Greek-Catholic Ukrainians 3,380,000 (42%), for the Roman-Catholic Poles 3,730,000 (47%), and for the Jews 870,000 (11%). According to religious convictions, then, Ukrainian East Galicia would contain 62% of Ukrainians, over 25% (1,350,000) Poles, and over 12% (660,000) Jews. As a matter of fact, the number of Ukrainians in Galicia, according to the investigations of Dr. Vladimir Ohrimovich, should be raised to at least 3,500,000, and, adding the Roman-Catholic Ukrainians of East Galicia, the number is 4,000,000. We shall retain the figure 3,380,000, however, but for the following view of the districts, the percentages will be taken from the much more justly compiled census of the year 1900. The greatest percentage of the Ukrainian population, that is 75—90%, is found in the Carpathian Districts of Turka, Stari Sambir, Kossiv, Pechenizhin; the sub-Carpathian Districts of Bohorodchani, Kalush, Zhidachiv; the Pokutian Districts of Sniatin and Horodenka, besides the District of Yavoriv in the Rostoche. The percentage of Ukrainians vacillates between 67 and 75% in the Districts of Lisko, Dobromil, Striy, Dolina, Nadvirna, Tovmach, Zalishchiki, Borshchiv, Rohatin, Bibrka, Zhovkva and Rava. More than three-fifths of the population (60—66%) is made up of Ukrainians in the Districts of Drohobich, Sambir, Rudki, Mostiska, Horodok, Kolomiya, Sokal, Kaminka, Brodi, Zbarazh, Zolochiv, Peremishlani, Berezhani, Pidhaytsi, Chortkiv, and Husiatin; 50—60% Ukrainians are found in the Districts of Chesaniv, Peremishl, Sianik, Ternopil, Skalat, Terebovla, Buchach and Stanislaviv. In only two districts the percentage of Ukrainians falls below 50%: in the districts of Lemberg (49%) and Yaroslav (41%). In the city of Lemberg the Ukrainians comprise only one-fifth of the population, and in other larger cities of East Galicia, too, their percentage is not great. Only in the most recent times is the percentage of Ukrainians in the larger cities of East Galicia becoming greater, as a result of the continued flocking in of the Ukrainian rural population. In the fifty smaller cities of East Galicia, on the other hand, the Ukrainians comprise absolute majorities, *e. g.*, Yavoriv, Horodenka, Tismenitsa.

In West Galicia only the District of Horlitsi (Gorlitse) has more than 25% Ukrainians, the remaining four (Yaslo, New Sandets, Krosno, Hribiv) only 10—20%.

The Ukrainian population of Galicia consists nine-tenths of peasants and petty bourgeois. From them a numerous educated class has sprung in the past century, which has taken the political and cultural leadership of the masses. For this reason, too, national consciousness has advanced most among the Ukrainians of Galicia.

Dr. Stephen Rudnitsky.

KHOLM

In the course of centuries, the country of Kholm has often changed its name and frontiers. The southern part was called in ancient times the *Towns of Cherven*, after Cherven the principal town. From the 12th century this district was known as the *Duchy of Kholm*, and in more recent times it formed a part of the government of Lublin.

The northern part was called the Country of Dorohytchyne, from the name of its capital; in modern times it was incorporated in the government of Sidlets.

The Doulebes, one of the Ukrainian tribes, lived in very ancient times on the banks of the River Bug.

For some time this country was under the domination of the Avars, a nomadic race from Asia; but in the 10th century the power passed over to the Poles.

At this time a powerful Ukrainian state already existed in Kiev on the Dnieper. On account of the pressure exerted by the barbarian tribes of Asia, Duke Volodimir the Great undertook in 981 a military expedition against Poland, and occupied Peremishl, Cherven, and other towns. The territories of Kholm became a part of the Grand Duchy of Kiev.

Poland, however, would not give up the towns of Cherven. In 1018 after the death of Volodimir the Great, Duke Boleslas recaptured them; and it was not until 1031 that Yaroslav the Wise, the Duke of Kiev, again united them to the Duchy of Kiev.

In the 12th century the power of Kiev declined, and the territory drained by the Bug was reunited to Volhynia and the Duchy of Volodimir. The most illustrious princes of Volhynia were Volodimirko (1124—1153), his son Yaroslav (1153—1187), Roman (1188—1205), and his son Danylo (1205—1264).

It was the last, the Duke Danylo, who made the town Kholm (hillock) the capital of his mighty kingdom, which extended from the River San (in Galicia) to the Dnieper, and from the Pripet to the Black Sea.

But this capital did not flourish very long; a fire destroyed the town in 1255. Then the Tatars besieged it and plundered its suburbs.

After the death of Danylo, Shvarno his son reigned (1264—1269). For some time he was sovereign of Lithuania through his marriage with a Lithuanian princess.

Prince Lev (Leo), (1269—1301), the third son of Danylo, was married to a Hungarian princess whose capital was Lviv or Lemberg. Lev wished to pursue the projects of Roman and Danylo, and as a consequence he became involved in a long war with the Lithuanians—a war that was terminated by a peace "for long years." Twice he besieged Lublin; he captured the town in 1290 and placed a garrison there.

Youri (George) the son of Lev (1301—1308) moved the capital to Vladimir in Volhynia. During his reign, in 1302, the Polish dukes took possession of Lublin. In 1320, during the reign of Lev II., son of Youri, (1308—1323), Guedemin the Duke of Lithuania occupied the country of Dorohytchyne (northern section). The last duke of the Romain family, Youri II. Boleslas (1323—1340), tried with Tatar help to retake Lublin, but without success.

About this time the princes of Lithuania began to annex to their states the disunited provinces of Ukraine. They introduced practically no

changes into the local life of Ukraine; on the contrary they themselves adopted the language, the laws, and the culture of the Ukrainians. A language composed of Ukrainian and White Russian became the official language, and the Greek Orthodox Religion became the predominant form of worship.

The relations between these two contiguous countries were so intimate that in 1340 the noblemen of Volhynia-Galicia invited Prince Lubart of Lithuania to govern them. But there were still two states each of which desired to obtain the right of succession to the Ukrainian lands; these were Poland and Hungary. A terrible war began, which lasted, with interruptions, for forty years. Fortune passed from one country to another; first Lubart the Duke of Lithuania and his successor Youri Narymountovitch (1352—1377) succeeded in getting the upper hand; then came the turn of Hungary, who dominated the country for ten years; finally in 1387 Poland occupied the land of Kholm. The country of Dorohytchyne also was reunited to Poland in 1569.

Such has been the political history of the country of Kholm. But during that period the religious question played a very great role, a role that is unknown in our day. This question was closely associated with the national question, and almost everywhere in the country of which we are speaking the nationality of an individual was determined by his religious profession.

In the first half of the 15th century, therefore, the delegates of the Ukrainian Church, headed by Isidore, the metropolitan of Kiev, attended the Council of Florence, where the metropolitan signed the Union of Churches (called "of Florence"). Isidore was made a cardinal, but he did not succeed in obtaining the consent of the grand duke of Moscow.

Another delegation composed of H. Potii, Bishop of Vladimir, and Kyrylo Terletsky, Bishop of Lutsk, went to Rome in 1595 to propose the Union of Churches. Pope Clement VIII. received the delegates with joy and had a medal made for the important event; the medal bore the following inscription: "Ruthenis receptis." In 1596, at the Council of Brest-Litovsk, the Union of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian Churches with the Church of Rome was definitely proclaimed.

The Union gained a large number of proselytes; only the Cossacks stubbornly grouped themselves around an Orthodox clergy. Religious polemics stirred up bitter strife, which resulted in the terrible wars of the Cossacks.

Ukrainian schools, ordinarily attached to churches and convents, existed for a long time in the country of Kholm. Already in 1550 there was in Krasnostav a school connected with the Church of the Trinity. In the town of Kholm in 1583, a Ukrainian school was located in a convent.

In 1643 Bishop Methode Terletsky (1630—1649), who was educated in the schools of Rome, received permission from Pope Urban VIII. to found a Ukrainian academy in Kholm.

But the Roman Catholic clergy opposed the institution of this academy. They would countenance the establishment in Kholm of only a college of Basilians. This fact shows that even at this early date the activities of the Greek-Uniate clergy did not have the approbation of the Polish clergy and society, who everywhere created obstacles for the Uniate Church—in public life, in schools, and in churches. The Poles considered the Union so serious a danger that in order to weaken it they did not hesitate, when occasion offered, even to favor the Orthodox Church.

Under Polish domination (1387—1772) the country was divided as follows: 1. The districts of Kholm, Krasnostav, and Hrubeshiv formed the country of Kholm, which was a part of the Department of Rouss (Ukraine). 2. The district of Grodno formed a part of the territory of Belz. 3. The districts of Dorohytchyne and Melnik belonged to the territory of Pidlachie. 4. The districts of the Bug, around Berestye (Brest), belonged to Lithuania as a part of the territory of Berestie.

Poland possessed the country of Kholm until 1772. In the first partition of Poland (1772), the southern districts of the country of Kholm went to Austria; in the third partition (1795), the Austrian frontier was ex-

tended as far as the River Bug, so that all of the present government of Kholm was in the hands of Austria.

The peace of Vienna (1809) transferred the country of Kholm to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which in turn was united to Russia in 1815. The Russian government regarded the country of Kholm as Russian, and desired to reorganize the United Church in order to reduce the Polish influence.

The Poles, on the other hand, considered Kholm as Polish territory and endeavored with all their power to Polonize the Ukrainian population. But the Russians were very powerful. From 1864 to 1875, numerous changes were introduced to Russify the Uniate Church; the ecclesiastical seminary of Kholm was reorganized, the Basilian convents were closed, and the schools were placed under governmental supervision. Finally the Uniate diocese of Kholm, partly on account of the pressure exercised by the Russian government, officially embraced Orthodoxy in 1875.

It is a fact that since the remotest times back in the ages, the country of Kholm has been a land where resistance is not an idle word. There was a time when the people of this country would not abandon the "ancient religion" for any price; they lived without baptism for their children, without marriages consecrated by a priest, without confession, and without funeral services for their dead. The new Orthodox churches remained empty for many years. Government statistics showed that there were as many as 200,000 "obstinates" who refused to embrace Orthodoxy.

It was at this time that through the medium of religion the Poles came in contact with these rebellious populations. The Latin clergy administered to the wants of the abandoned renegades, secretly satisfying their religious requirements; and taking advantage of their influence, they furthered the process of Polonization. The success of the Polish clergy was greater than had been hoped for. In 1905 when liberty to change one religion for another was granted to the people, 120,000 former renegades at one time accepted the Roman Catholic rite, so dear to Poland.

In 1912 the government of Kholm obtained the following frontiers defined by the Duma: on the east and north, the River Bug, which separates the government of Kholm from the governments of Volhynia and Grodno; on the west, the governments of Siedlets and Lublin; on the south, Galicia.

The government of Kholm embraced the following districts: Bilhorai, Tomashiv, Zamostye, Hrubeshiv, Kholm, Volodava, Bila, and Konstantiniv.

The following is a division of the population according to religion:

Orthodoxes	327,322	36.5%
Roman Catholics	404,633	45.1%
Jews	135,238	15.1%
Protestants and others	29,123	3.3%
	896,316	

The official statistics of the Russian government do not recognize the existence of the Greek-Catholics (Uniates). As a matter of fact, however, the majority of the population is still Greek-Catholic, as it was one hundred and fifty years ago; it is only on account of force that these people have chosen between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy.

From the viewpoint of nationality, the facts are no less convincing; the statistics show:

Ukrainians and Russians	463,902	51.7%
Poles	268,053	29.9%
Jews	135,238	15.1%
Germans	29,123	3.3%
	896,316	

The Ukrainians and Russians are included in the same number; only the employees and clergy (3%) are Russian, while the bulk of the population is Ukrainian.

The Polish statisticians E. Czynski (1909) and M. Szerer (1915) place the number of Ukrainians in this territory at 426,000. They include all Roman Catholic Ukrainians with the Poles.

Statistics compiled by the Russian parliamentary commission in 1910, before Kholm was united to Russian Ukraine (1912), deserve the greatest confidence; they show the following figures:

Ukrainians	60%
Poles	20%
Jews	14%
Germans	4%
Russians	2%

In the eastern districts on the Bug, the Ukrainians are in the majority; while in the west near the Polish frontier, the villages are of Polish or mixed population. The Ukrainian middle class averaged 3% to 4% of the population. In the liberal professions as well as in most of the Orthodox clergy, the Ukrainian element predominates.

Under the influence of the new Ukrainian movement, many educational or scientific societies (*Prosvitas*), libraries, and loan bureaus were established since 1912. The intellectual class of Kholm wished even to have their own newspaper, but authorization for this was refused.

At the present moment, what has become of these divers manifestations of renewed patriotic fervor? History can remind us that in this country, devastated and muzzled by a military autocracy, the fire of revolution is still smouldering. The ancient country of Kholm, plundered and ravaged by German armies, waits patiently and silently for the hour when it can show that it has remained true to its past. To-day the City of Kholm, which according to reliable witnesses is still practically intact, can see the German troops pass by. But to-morrow?

Paris, 1918

Prof. Theodore Savtchenko.

The Problem of the Ukrainian Province of Kholm

The so-called "Kholm Question" is centuries old. It was a vital problem of the day as early as the fourteenth century; it became an affair of prime importance in the sixteenth century and remained so for the two following centuries; since the partition of Poland, and especially since the year 1815, it never ceased to be a subject of discussion and of different governmental plans, projects, and bills; in a word, it has been a bone of contention for more than five centuries. And even to-day it is not duly illuminated, impartially dwelt upon, or justly solved.

SETTLED BY UKRAINIANS.

From the Polish protests one may draw an impression that the Kholm province was a frontier country of the Polish nationality. Nothing is further from the truth than that. The full historical name of the Kholm province is not "Kholm Poland" but "Kholmska Rus", which means nothing but "Kholm Ruthenia." During the Slavic colonization of Eastern Europe, the country was settled not by the Western Slavs, to which the Poles belong, but by the Eastern Slavs; namely, by a tribe belonging to the group from which the Ukrainian nationality was born in the course of centuries. As early as the tenth century the southern part of it was occupied by the powerful Ukrainian Prince of Kiev, Volodimir the Great; the Kiev chronicles speaking of his campaign of 981, called it "Kholm Rus beyond the Bug River." In the twelfth century, "Kholm Ruthenia" was divided among several Ukrainian princes. In the thirteenth century it was laid waste by the Tatar invasion, but was resettled and rebuilt by the Ukrainian Prince of Galicia, Danilo Romanovich. He is supposed also to have founded the city of Kholm, in which his temporary residence was situated, and from which the whole province came to bear its name. After his death the country was divided among his sons and grandsons.

OCCUPIED BY POLES.

In 1377, a part of "Kholm Ruthenia" was occupied by the Polish King Kazimir I, and the other part passed into the hands of the Lithuanians. When in 1386, Yahaylo (Jagiello), the Prince of Lithuania, married the Polish Queen Yadviga, the whole Kholm province was united under the Polish-Lithuanian rule, and constituted a part of the so-called Palatinate (country) of Ruthenia, which was formed at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Thus even the Polish government has recognized the Ukrainian character of the country.

THE UKRAINIANS PERSECUTED.

In their religion the Ukrainians of the Palatinate of Ruthenia were Orthodox, so that the country was a frontier not only in a racial respect, but also in a religious sense, and in the cultural meaning as well, since the

Poles for centuries had been under the influence of the western civilization which spread from Rome, while the source of the intellectual inspiration of the Ukrainians always had been the Eastern Roman Empire, with its centre at Constantinople.

The Ukrainians of Kholm at once were made to feel the full measure of what it means to be a frontier. All the attempts of the Poles to Polonize the Ukrainians and to Catholicize the Orthodox were, of course, directed primarily against the Ukrainian outpost in the west. Immediately after the occupation of the country by the Polish king, Polish colonists were sent to settle among the Ukrainian population. The persecution of the Ukrainian culture had for its nearest object the Polonization of the upper and educated classes. This aim having been attained, an attempt was made to Polonize the lower classes.

At that time, the church was not merely a medium of religious expression, but also the chief exponent of the national consciousness. To say, "I am an Orthodox," meant in Kholm (as well as all over the Ukrainian provinces under the Polish reign), "I am a Ukrainian;" to say, "I am a Catholic," was synonymous with professing the Polish nationality. Thus the first step to break the national consciousness of the Ukrainians was to abolish the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. An ingenious plan of the union of both Churches was formed; the Ukrainians were to receive the right to retain their Eastern ceremonies, but had to recognize the supreme authority of the Pope. It was hoped that in the course of time they would submit to another operation upon their Church, and so step by step a full Catholicization and Polonization would be attained.

The organization of the Uniate Church was accompanied by many acts of force and oppression, which even the Polish historians cannot deny. Finally, by might and right, the union was accomplished in 1569. It was the beginning of a new and powerful attack of the Catholic Church against the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The religious struggle was conducted most hotly and sanguinarily in the frontier country of Kholm. For two centuries this went on, from 1659 until the very downfall of Poland. And it was successful in a way, for the Uniate Catholic Church grew rapidly.

POLAND OPPRESSES THE UNIATE CHURCH.

But in another respect it was a thorough failure. The Uniate Catholic Church, planned, organized, and completed by the Polish efforts, did not rise to the Polish expectations. Introduced by the force of the "secular arm" of the Polish State, it was a sort of a religious denomination imposed upon the people, who had to accept it. But it was different with their posterity, perhaps with the very next generation. For them, it was neither a religion forced upon them, nor a hateful creed; it was the religion into which they were born and in which they were educated. The Uniate Church grew to be cherished by the very people upon whom it had been imposed.

This is not all. The stubborn Ukrainian national consciousness refused to see in the Uniate Church those elements which this Church had in common with the Roman Catholic Church, and which were more of a dogmatic character, not easily detectable to the uneducated mind. Slow to see these common elements, the mass of people were quick to notice the differences evident to all not initiated into the profound intricacies of theology; that the mass in the Uniate Church is celebrated in an altogether different way, that the Uniate priests are allowed to marry, that the Church language is not Latin but Slavic, all these and other differences of similar character could be detected by everybody. They were emphasized in the minds of the uneducated church members, who began to see in these peculiarities the criterion not only of their religion, but also of their nationality. And thus it came to pass that the Uniate Church became for the Uniate Ukrainians the chief exponent of their nationalism.

Facing such a peculiar turn of their own work, the Poles tried to limit the guaranteed rights of the Uniate Church, but their efforts were defeated through the opposition of the adherents of that Church and through

the opposition of the Popes. The Polish government then started to "convert" the Uniate Ukrainians to Roman Catholicism and Polonism with all the powers at its command.

AFTER POLAND'S DOWNFALL.

Poland paid dearly for disregarding the rights of the Ukrainians to national culture and freedom of conscience. The price was the forfeiture of political independence; it was the Cossack wars and the separation of Ukraine, which were the immediate results of that religious and national oppression, and the most important cause of the downfall of the Polish State.

During the first partition of Poland, the northern part of the "Kholmska Rus" remained with Poland, and the rest was taken by Austria. During the third partition, a section of it went to Russia, the rest was seized by Austria. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the whole province was incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland, which was united with Russia, and remained under that rule until the present war.

BETWEEN THE UPPER AND LOWER MILLSTONES.

A period of new tragedies, unseen persecutions, unparalleled oppression was signaled by the unsuccessful Polish uprising of 1831. Since that time, the Russian Government in its policy towards Kholm had only one aim in view: to raise the importance of the Great Russian nationality and the Russian Orthodox Church. For this purpose, the Government established schools, mostly parish schools, which were under the control of the Orthodox priests, and in which the Great Russian language was a subject of special importance. Russian Orthodox churches were built, and Russian Orthodox parishes were founded. The rights of the Uniate Church were restricted; many Uniate churches and monasteries were closed or turned over to the Orthodox.

The Poles of the province, who consist of landlords and clergy, were certainly not satisfied with the new state of affairs. Once they had been the masters of the country; now they found themselves in a subordinate position. Once they had conducted their policy of Catholicizing and Polonizing openly; now they had to conduct it secretly, through cunning and subterfuge. Hence came their irritation, wrath, and rage. Restricted in their actions, the Polish nobility and clergy put in motion a whole series of devices cleverly schemed. One of them was the transportation of the relics of St. Victor from Warsaw to Yanov, in 1854, on which occasion many Uniates were converted to Catholicism. The oppressive policy of the Russian Government was again producing strange fruit, this time for Russia. Persecuted for their creed, the Uniates were giving it up, but they refused to embrace the Russian Orthodox religion, and went into the nets prepared beforehand by the Polish clergy lead by the Jesuits.

NEW ATTEMPTS AT THE CONVERSION OF KHOLM UNIATES TO THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.

Another Polish uprising (1863) was again a signal for an enforced policy: the Kingdom of Poland was divided into provinces, and their governors received extensive powers. "Kholmska Rus" was divided among the provinces of Lublin, Sidlets, Suvalki, and Lomzha. The Russian Church and the Russian Government once more joined their hands to accomplish the final "voluntary reunion of the Uniates with the Orthodox Church."

It was agreed that one of the chief reasons for the failure of Russian propaganda was the difference between the Great Russian language of the "apostles" and the Ukrainian language of the "infidels" who were to be converted. Accordingly a large number of individuals were summoned from adjoining Galicia; education was not required, not even any natural gift, nay, even the reputation of honesty was deemed unnecessary. All that was essential was the apostolic zeal to conduct the work of the "conversion of the infidels to the old creed of ancient ancestors."

The leader of these "apostles" was Marcel Popel, who was nominated the "administrator of the Uniate Diocese of Kholm." He started his Judas work against his Church by publishing a decree about the "purification of the Uniate rite from the Catholic additions" and "about the celebration of Mass in accordance with the ecclesiastical law;" i. e., in accordance with the Orthodox rite. The first day of January 1874, was appointed the day when the purification was to be completed. Although the "purification" was nothing but ridiculing the people's religious convictions, yet it was made the duty of the administrative and police authorities. The derision went so far that the local police officers in many places used to interrupt the Mass wherever it differed from the Orthodox Mass, and to command the priest to repeat the passage in accordance with the Orthodox rite.

Simultaneously the authorities started another campaign among the Uniates. The people were summoned to attend meetings, at which motions demanding the union of the Uniate Church with the Orthodox Church were submitted for their approval. Whoever refused to vote for the resolution and to maintain secrecy about the whole affair, was threatened by the police authorities with exile into Siberia. The leaders of the whole campaign were Gromeka, at the time the governor of the province of Sidlets, and Makoff, the director of the Ministry of the Interior. No wonder that these offices were filled with applications of different villages for a union with the Orthodox Church.

Another means was the dispatching of adequate delegations. When the Uniates sent a delegation to the Tsar to ask him to repeal the decrees restricting the freedom of their Church, the delegation was refused admission. When, however, a delegation of a few Uniates demanded the union of the whole Uniate Church with the Orthodox Church, they were received by the Tsar and by the Holy Synod. And in 1875, the official reunion of the Churches was celebrated: magnificent festivals were arranged; Mr. Gromeka received a huge estate; Mr. Makoff was promoted to a privy councilor; and the Tsar was offered a medal, struck for the occasion, and inscribed with the Pharisaical legend: "torn away by force, reunited by love..."

And how much love was in the whole procedure, was to become manifest in a short time after the festivities, when the official reunion was to be carried into effect. The titles, the festivals, and the medals failed to convert anybody to the new religion; the people continued in their old faith, and all the efforts of the Government and the official Church were futile. The "apostles" had to resort to their chief argument, brutal force. There was published a whole series of decrees, orders, edicts, ordinances, all commanding the Uniates to join the Orthodox Church. The Uniate Churches were ordered to be closed.

The indignation of the people was great. In many localities, the Uniates gathered before their churches and tried to prevent the police from locking them. The Cossacks and other military units appeared on the field of "conversions" as the most effective apostles. Volleys were fired, many people were killed. In the villages of Tratulin, and Dervo, in the province of Sidlets, the steps of the churches were flooded with the blood of the people "reunited by love." The "obstinate" ones were sent to Siberia. The people who refused to sign their names under the declaration of "voluntary reunion," were beaten with knouts until they agreed to do as ordered.

According to the report of Mr. Mansfield, the English consul, the villagers of a hamlet in the province of Sidlets, refused to sign the declaration of "voluntary reunion." Troops, therefore, were sent to the village. After all eatables had been destroyed by the rapacious soldiery, the Cossacks appeared on the scene. The village council immediately passed a resolution confirming the reunion, and ordered all men to sign it. The peasants refused. The Cossacks separated the men from the women. The men were locked in a shed, and the Cossacks were sent among the women with the commandant's order "Enjoy yourselves, boys." After the shameful violence, the peasants, to spare themselves further abuses, gave their signatures to the declaration, which testified that their reunion with the Or-

thodox Church was a voluntary act caused by the amiableness of the converters.

The results of such conversion were rather unexpected for both the Orthodox Church and the Russian Government. Orthodox churches became empty; the people lived unbaptized, entered into the family relations without the sanction of the Church, burried their dead without Christian ceremonies. If any ritual functions were performed, they were performed beyond the frontier of the Empire, in Galicia.

To cope with the new circumstances, the Russian Government elaborated a whole series of new measures. For the failure to baptize a baby within a week after birth, for unauthorized burrying of the dead, for cohabitation without the sanction of the Church, high fines were imposed; in case of the failure to pay the fine, cattle, clothes, and household goods were to be seized and sold at auction in the nearest town. Should the sum received by sale exceed the fine, the balance was not to be returned to the owner, but to be kept by the village authorities "to defray future fines."

Even these new manifestations of apostolic zeal and love proved barren of results. The people preferred to be fined, to see their estates ruined or sold out, than to perform the ceremonies in accordance with the prescriptions of the hateful Church. Thousands were exiled to Central Russia. The jails were overflowing with the Uniates accused of all imaginable crimes. The courts were overburdened with inquiries, examinations, and trials, and special authorities were formed to deal with their problem.

For a moment a sound thought seemed to dawn upon the minds of the Russian bureaucracy. On April 23, 1871, a special committee on the Kholm affairs reported it was the deep conviction of its members that the Uniate population of the country should be allowed to enjoy unrestricted religious freedom. Moreover, the opinion of the committee was affirmed by the Tsar. During the first years of the reign of the Tsar Alexander III, there was drafted a bill of law abolishing all the fines and punishments imposed for the failure to perform the Orthodox ceremonies.

That all this was only a "lucid interval," the immediate future was to bear witness. The country was again plunged into a flood of lawsuits, arrests, fines, and exiles. When the Uniates continued in their stubbornness, refusing to frequent the Orthodox Churches, to baptize their children, and to perform other religious ceremonies according to the Orthodox rite, the migrating Catholic priests and monks appeared in the country offering their religious services to the people. The abnormal atmosphere of secrecy with which all this was done contributed to the development of another evil; the performance of those secret religious services passed into the hands of private "entrepreneurs," shrewd, and venturesome persons, sometimes even Jews, and became a profitable trade.

This, in its turn, became a fruitful soil for police authorities to show their administrative ardor; gossip, secret information, slander, inventions, poured in an infinite stream. The police authorities compiled a list of the so-called "Cracow weddings;" they were declared null and void, and the families based upon them were ordered to dissolve.

The consequences of the persecutions were again unexpected. In 1895, the government counted in the diocese of Kholm 73,000 "obstinate" Uniates, while within two years their number increased to 83,000. Within one year, from 1896 to 1897, the number of "obstinate" Uniates in the district of Kholm increased by 6,000 persons, the number of "hesitating" by 1,500 persons, and the number of unlawful marriages by 770. The official report reads: "The condition of the obstinate ex-Uniates is pitiful to the utmost. Having forgotten the duties imposed upon them by the Christian faith, they have become thoroughly hardened in their souls. Their attitude towards the Orthodox Church is full of spite. They avoid meeting and talking with its clergy. The Orthodox clergy are not admitted to the bed of the dying. When you persuade them to baptize the child, they answer, 'We will sooner drown them than baptize them in your church'. The propaganda of the Catholic priests was not discontinued among them; secret performances of their ceremonies and confessions are going on." It was evident even for

the gardener himself that the decayed tree grafted by him was producing rotten fruit.

The Tsar's government was characterized as a government which never forgot anything and never learned anything. It knew how to miss every lesson of history, no matter how clear and persuasive. Bureaucracy, both of the State and the Church, required opportunity for displaying its zeal, for earning titles and promotions. Even if the most evident facts were testifying that the government was defeating its own ends, even then the government could not stop the force it had set in motion. In spite of all the unfavorable results, the oppressive policy was continued.

It was in 1905, that the people began to suspect that the government had changed its policy. On April 17, a manifesto was published which proclaimed that "in the domain of creed no restrictions and no force should exist." Perhaps the people were still more glad when they read another announcement of the same manifesto in which the government explicitly declared that the "creed is born exclusively of God's grace." They certainly had the right to think that what these words meant was that the creed is never born of the oppressive measures of the police or police churches. It might seem that now the field was open for a free religious propaganda. Now every denomination seemed to have the right to profess its religion openly. Now everybody could pray to God as he thought best, without interference from the police. Now every creed had power to propagate its faith, to win back the faithful it had lost, and to win new converts.

Nor did the Uniate Church seem to be excluded from these rights and privileges; but not being excluded by law, she was excluded by the state of affairs. The toleration decree found no Uniate Church organization in the Kholm province, for all the parishes had long been disbanded, and all the Uniate priests had been forced to change their religion, to give up preaching, or to leave the country. The Uniate priests from Galicia were not allowed to pass the frontier. Thus among those who were yearning for their persecuted religion, there were only Roman Catholic priests and Orthodox clergy, both hostile to each other, and both united against the Uniate Church. The return to the Uniate Church was thus cut off; the people had to choose one of those two religions which had the opportunity to carry their propaganda in the country.

If given a full free choice, they would have selected neither, since both were foreign to them, and both were associated in the minds of the people with unpleasant reminiscences, one with the nobility's economic exploitation, the other with political persecution by the government. Since, however, the choice was not free, the people had to choose between two evils. Their Catholic sentiment could not be reconciled with the idea of the schism in the Church which they considered their own; they disliked heartily certain rites of the Orthodox Church; and finally, the persecutions carried by the Orthodox Church, supported by all the brutality of the Tsarist government, stood fresh in their memories. The popular sentiment was evidently leaning toward the Catholic Church.

The Roman Catholic clergy and the Polish nobility certainly knew how to take full advantage of the new conditions. They put in motion a cunning plan, utilizing the hatred of the population towards the official Orthodox religion. Now when the governmental pressure of the official circles, the only effective weapon of the Orthodox Church, had been destroyed by the toleration act, the Polish clergy and nobility used a far more effective weapon, their social influence and wealth. Rumors were spread that the Russian Government in the future might again force the Uniates to give up their religion; that no other religion but Roman Catholic and Orthodox would be tolerated; that the Roman Catholic religion would become the established religion of the nation, as the Tsar himself had already embraced it. Wherever this kind of propaganda was proving itself of little effect, more sensitive arguments were resorted to; the Polish landlords began to discharge the farm laborers who refused to change their religion to Roman Catholicism. If this could not reach a man's heart, brutal force was often applied without scruples.

The factors mentioned above were joined by a new one; the religious question became interwoven with the cultural problem. The people of Kholm always had considered themselves Ukrainians, a nationality different from the Poles and the Great Russians. The advancement of culture made them yearn for intellectual development in their native tongue. But the Ukrainian language was prohibited in Russia; no books were allowed to be printed in it; it was not admitted to the schools; no teachers were to be found. Among the hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians longing for their national schools, there could be heard only the representatives of the Polish and the Great Russian nationalities, both hostile to each other, but each one interested in the expansion of his respective nationality at the expense of the Ukrainians, each less mindful of the intellectual development of the people than of the destruction of their specific culture. Here the Ukrainians, thirsting for knowledge, were again to choose between two evils, and here again the weight of the wrongs recently done by the Great Russians took revenge.

These are the influences which explain the swift spreading of Roman Catholicism and Polonism among the people of "Kholm Ruthenia." The Russification policy of the Russian Government and the forceful conversion inaugurated by the Orthodox Church made the people flee from everything that reminded them of the Orthodox Church and Russianism. Thousands of men, who were Uniates at heart, were passing to the Roman Catholic Church, and thousands of self-conscious Ukrainians were adopting the Polish language as their colloquial idiom. Deprived of all means of self-defence, the Ukrainian nationality was paying the expenses of the Russification policy.

Alarmed at such consequences of their policy, the Russian Government and the Church looked for a remedy. It was proposed to separate the "Kholm Ruthenia" from the Kingdom of Poland, to unite it with Russia proper, and thus to eliminate all the Polish and Roman Catholic influence. The project aimed a strong blow at the national pride and egotism of the Polish nobility and clergy; the Polish nationality, always submissive to the interests of these factors in the question of its national policy, was unanimous in condemning the project; the separation of a Ukrainian province from the Kingdom of Poland was called, in high-sounding patriotic phraseology, the "fourth partition of Poland." The Ukrainians could not fail to see certain advantages in this project. Should it be carried out, the influence of one of the chief enemies of the Ukrainian people would be eliminated; the country would cease being the battlefield of the two nations quarelling over the right to exploit the third; the Ukrainians would have only one enemy to cope with. And they declared themselves in favor of the project of the Russian Government. It was less of an alliance of friends; it was more of the rejoicing of the oppressed at the sight of one of the enemies making the other harmless.

After long discussions, the project was accepted in 1912 by the Duma and the Tsar, and became a law. The southern and eastern parts of the province of Lublin and the southern part of the province of Sidlets were combined into one administrative unit, which was taken from the Kingdom of Poland, to form henceforth a province with Kholm as capital.

UNDER THE IRON HEEL OF THE "LIBERATORS."

Whatever the final consequences of the law were to be, it is difficult to judge from the short period of two years that passed between its adoption and the outbreak of the present war; but they certainly were not to be favorable to the Ukrainian nationality. During this war they passed from bad to worse. I do not mean the privations of the people because of the state of war, nor their sufferings when their country was occupied by one or the other belligerent. What I mean is the political and religious persecutions, which were inaugurated as soon as the forces of the Central Powers, in the so-called "Hindenburg Drive" of August and September, 1915, had occupied those parts of the Ukrainian territory known as Kholm, Volhynia, and Polissye. The invading armies abolished the administrative

divisions introduced by Russia in 1912, and the whole occupied region was put under the Austrian rule, which was Austrian only in name, and Polish in fact. Galicia, with its formal equality of rights for all nationalities and its shameless actual oppression, became a model for the government of the newly occupied provinces of Russia. These were times when the Poles were courted by the Central Powers as never before, when the Polonophile movement in Austria and Germany was at its height. Hundreds of thousands of Polish volunteers, organized into the so-called Polish Legions, were co-operating with the invading Germans, who in their shrewdness sent the obsequious Poles to occupy the lands that once had been the possessions of the Polish Empire. The Legionists, in their chauvinistic ardor, treated the occupied provinces as if they were an integral part of Poland, and treated the people as if they were aboriginal Poles. Their imperialistic sentiments were rising high; the intolerance of independent Poland was awakened. As all this played into the hands of Germany and Austria, the Poles were given a free hand. What the Ukrainians have suffered from that Polish occupation of Russian provinces no pen can describe. Unprecedented as has been the Russian regime in Galicia after the Russian occupation in 1915, it seems to be fully equalled by the reign of those new adepts of the German way of governing. The Orthodox churches were changed into Roman Catholic churches against the will of the people; the Polish newspapers, among the heroic deeds of the Legions, narrated about the "chopping" of the Orthodox crosses on the churches. Polish clergy, monks, and nuns established Polish schools throughout the occupied Ukrainian country, while the Ukrainian teachers and priests were not even allowed to enter the provinces populated by their countrymen. Whoever dared to proceed against the united German and Polish interest, was dealt with summarily as traitor or spy. All the administrative artifices performed by the Germans in Belgium, were repeated with ability by their capable pupils in Ukraine.

The friendship between the Germans and Poles reached its culminating point at the time when the Central Powers were in the greatest need of men for their armies. On November 5, 1916, the German and Austrian Emperors conjointly published a proclamation, which was to cement that "leonina societas"; a national State of Poland was proclaimed as a hereditary constitutional monarchy. Although the exact frontiers were to be outlined at some future time, the wording of the proclamation subjected to Polish rule all the territory taken from Russia by the Central Powers and extending to the east as far as the firing line. In this way, about two million Ukrainians came under the "lawful" Polish rule. It is needless to say what it meant to them. In short, the horrors of an independent Poland, with political, social, and religious oppression rose again from the dead.

The recent events in Russia had a profound influence upon the further development of the problem. The Tsarist government fell. The Revolution, after several intermediary stages, placed the Bolsheviki in power, and Ukraine was forced to give up her sincerest desires to constitute with Russia a federalist republic.

POLISH OPPOSITION TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE OF KHOLM.

The attitude of the Poles toward the people of Kholm is rather unreconcilable with their alleged democratic tendencies. Living continually among the people of Kholm, they know from actual observation that the majority are not Polish in their nationality and not Roman Catholic in their religion. They know that the people wait for the moment when they may be free to embrace that religion for which they have suffered so much, and to adopt that national culture which was so long denied to them by their enemies.

To grant the right of self-determination even if its application may be detrimental to one's private interests requires an elevated state of mind, and the suppression of all egotism. Evidently these qualities are sadly lacking in those men who dictate the policies of the Polish nationality. That the economic interests are of great importance in the whole affair cannot

be denied; the union of Kholm with Ukraine would mean for the Polish clergy the forfeiture of the position of the established Church, and for the Polish nobility the loss of their estates to the peasants. Thus the keen egotistic interests command these two social groups to oppose the separation of Kholm from Poland; therefore one cannot be surprised at their attitude in the question. Since, however, the whole nationality and the entire Government have taken the position of the nobility and clergy, it shows only that narrow selfishness and imperialism have struck deep roots in Poland.

These are the economic and psychological factors that caused the Polish leaders in the Tsarist Russia to make alliances with the very oppressors of the Polish people; that caused the Warsaw Council of State, after the outbreak of the revolution in Russia, to stretch out its greedy hand for the White Ruthenian, Lithuanian, and Ukrainian provinces; that made the leaders of the Polish emigration concur in those aggressive claims; that finally made the Poles all over the world protest against the right of the Kholm people to self-determination. Eventually the Poles invaded all of Kholm and forced their domination on the people. Thus it would seem as if the historic feud between the Ukrainian and the Polish nationalities would become permanent.

The welfare, however, of both Poles and Ukrainians demands a solution of the Kholm problem which will become the basis of peaceful relations between the two nationalities. It must be a solution capable of ending the century-long clashes, fights, struggles, and bloodshed. It must be a solution that will satisfy the country, and give its people all opportunities to develop freely in politics, economics, and culture.

There is only one way to solve the problem justly. This is the same solution which is applicable to all oppressed countries, no matter where they are. It is the principle that the people themselves should choose their own government.

This principle should fully be applied to the province of Kholm. For centuries these people have been the object of special care for different powers, who wanted to make them Catholic and Orthodox, Polish and Great Russian, but never asked the people themselves for their opinions and their desires. It should be the achievement of our age to make the people's voice heard for the first time in history.

THE UKRAINE

(From the Edinburgh *Review*, London-New York, January, 1919)

'It will be the end of Russia, not indeed by any means as a great Power but as a European danger, if the Ukraine ever secedes from the Empire.... It matters comparatively little to Russia, if she loses Poland, and even Finland. But without the Ukraine Russia becomes an Asiatic Power.'—Bedwin Sands, 'The Ukraine.' London. 1914.

When the collapse of the Tsar's Government in 1917 brought the National movement of the subject peoples suddenly to the surface, the Ukrainians were not, like the Poles or the Finns, inspired by the recollection of an independence recently enjoyed. For more than two and a half centuries they had been ruled by the Tsar. Before that they had been under the Polish yoke. Those measures of Russification which, imposed at the beginning of the twentieth century, were so bitterly resented in Finland, had been introduced without protest in Ukraine at the end of the eighteenth century. And when under the influence of nineteenth century nationalism a Ukrainian movement made its first appearance, it had been immediately suppressed by the Russian Government. From 1876 to 1905 (though not without mitigations from time to time in practice) and again from 1914 to 1917 it was forbidden to publish a book, or to import a book, or to produce a play, or to deliver a lecture, or to preach a sermon, in the Ukrainian language. All education from the village school to the university was in Russian. A large part, perhaps the majority, of the educated classes rarely spoke a word of Ukrainian except to servants or peasants. The higher strata of society, the functionaries, the military, the nobility, the superior clergy, were almost entirely denationalized. So to a great extent were the lower strata in the towns. And even in the villages, where the Ukrainian language was universal, the so-called 'village aristocracy,' time-expired non-commissioned officers, village officials and former town-workers come back to their Communes, constituted a more or less Russianized element. The majority of peasants understood a Russian speaker—when they wished to—well enough: for though many never went to school, and more forgot what they learned in the two years of schooling which was all that most peasants got, yet most learned again what they had forgotten during their service in the army.

Perhaps the most striking evidence of the immaturity of the Ukrainian movement in Russia is the fact that in the year 1905, when all non-Russian nations were in clamorous revolt, scarcely a voice was raised in the Ukraine in favor of separation. The chief news that reached the world from the Ukraine was of *pogroms* organized by ultra-Russian patriots in the Ukrainian towns of Kiev, Kishinev, and Odessa. There was a Ukrainian Club of some forty members in the First and Second Dumas. But from the Third and Fourth Dumas under Stolypin's manipulation of the franchise they had all disappeared: and at the outbreak of the war the Ukrainian Nationalists had not a single representative either in the Duma

or in any one of the Ukrainian *zemstvos*. So effectually, it seemed, had the Pan-Slav influences which dominated the Russian policy in the decade before the war succeeded in the crushing of the Ukrainian movement.

Perhaps they would have succeeded altogether—for the factors in their favor, as has been indicated, were many—but for the fragment of the Ukrainian race, three millions only out of thirty millions, who live on Austrian soil. Here they are called Ruthenes: they inhabit the eastern parts of Galicia, of which province they constitute slightly less than half the population, and are under the yoke of the Polish majority, to whose mercies Vienna handed them over when she made her peace with the Poles after the disasters of 1866. It may be said at once that there is no group, or fraction of a group, of Ruthenes, which does not cherish for the Poles a hatred so fierce that by the side of it the bitterest protest of the Russian Ukrainians against Russian rule appears tame and insignificant. At a word from Vienna the peasants would be any day ready to bring in cartloads of the heads of the Polish landlords, as they did in the Galician rising of 1846; and the *intelligentsia* would organize pilgrimages to the houses of the murderers, as they did when Miroslav Siczynsky murdered the Polish governor of Galicia in 1908. But neither peasants nor *intelligentsia* get the opportunity; for no one has ever charged the Poles with weakness in their rule of subject races.

Nevertheless, though held in bondage themselves in Galicia, the Ruthenes have provided a kind of 'intellectual Piedmont' for the Ukrainian movement. The books, which were not allowed to be published in Russia, were published in Lemberg and Czernowitz and smuggled across the border; exiles from Russian Ukraine found a home in Galicia; and the history of the Ukrainian movement down to 1914 is to all intents and purposes the history of the Ruthenes. Yet the Ruthenes are cut off from the Russian Ukrainians, not only by the political barrier, but by one of those barriers which in this part of Eastern Europe count for more than political boundaries, a difference of faith. The Russian Ukrainians are Orthodox, members of the Russian Church. The Ruthenes are Uniates, Catholics in communion with Rome but retaining the Greek rite and the married clergy. The Ruthene peasant is passionately attached to his rite, and very much more afraid of Latinization on the part of the Poles than of proselytizing efforts on the part of Orthodox Russia. 'Purifying the Greek rite' (by which is meant the elimination of organs, vernacular hymns, and the more modern Catholic devotions, such as the Sacred Heart or even the Immaculate Conception) has always been a good political cry in East Galicia, especially among the Russophile elements: and in the hands of agitators from Russia has more than once been the prelude to whole villages going over to Orthodoxy.

One of the outstanding personalities of Eastern Europe is the Uniate Metropolitan, Mgr. Count Sheptitsky. He is a Pole by birth, or rather he is a member of one of those aristocratic families which bear Ruthene names, but which were all Polonized centuries ago. A Sheptitsky was Archbishop of Lemberg at the end of the eighteenth century; but the present Metropolitan, Andrew Sheptitsky, is the first of his name, and indeed the first of his caste, to acknowledge Ruthene nationality. He occupies a unique position in the National movement, and his place, when he dies, will be difficult to fill. Physically he is something of a Hercules, well over six feet high, with a big, fair beard, and with a certain air of command, in which the Polish aristocrat and the Prince of the Church are curiously commingled. He dominates almost without question an anything but docile *intelligentsia*. There is a strong vein of anti-clericalism in the *intelligentsia;* and again and again the clergy have chafed under anti-clerical diatribes of the nationalist newspapers, and the diplomacy of the Archbishop has had to be put in motion behind the scenes. But by one means or another he has succeeded in shepherding into one fold the bulk of the clergy on the one hand and the principal groups of the *intelligentsia*, the so-called 'Consolidation,' on the other. This union has powerfully promoted the progress of the Nationalist movement. In the 'nineties the Nationalists managed to exclude the Russophiles altogether both from the Austrian Reichsrat and

from the Galician Diet. In recent years the Russophiles, supported by the Poles, regained a little ground. At the outset of the war they held two seats in the Reichsrat to the Nationalists' twenty-three. Between them the Nationalists and Russophiles poll all the Ruthene votes; for in the almost complete absence of a Ruthene urban proletariat Socialism is weak in Eastern Galicia, and does not play a prominent role.

There was a time when the Russophiles—then known as Old Ruthenes —were supported by the Austrian Government as a useful Conservative body, well adapted to form a counterpoise to the Poles. Russophilism in those days was more literary than political, and Russian agents from Russia played little part in it. It decayed with the rise of Nationalism, and Vienha transferred its favors to the Nationalists. In the twentieth century Pan-Slavism, then at the flood in Russia, began to cast its foam across the Austrian border; and a vigorous politico-ecclesiastical propaganda under a Russian Pan-Slavist, Count Vladimir Bobrinsky, was set on foot. To this propaganda the Russophiles, or a good part of them, rallied. The propaganda was avowedly irredentist in character: the Mission of Sovereign Russia (*Gosudarstvennaya Rus*) to Russia in Bondage (*Poydaremnaya Rus*) was openly preached; and conversion to Orthodoxy was to be the first step. The Orthodox seminaries of Volhynia and Podolia opened their doors to the sons of the Ruthene clergy; and pilgrimages were organized on a large scale to Pochayev, a well-known Orthodox convent just across the Russian border, which has a miracle-working saint, and has for long served as a convenient centre of Orthodox propaganda. For more sophisticated souls newspapers were founded and, above all, educational facilities were created to enable young Ruthenes to make their studies in Russia.

The Poles, who had long been alarmed at the growth of the Nationalist movement, now decided to join hands with the New Russophilism. The new movement was particularly welcome as a means of combating Ruthene aspirations at this time; for the domination of the Poles in Galicia was to some extent threatened by the introduction of universal suffrage in Austria: and a prominent Polish magnate opined that 'a little schism in East Galicia would do no harm.' The Russian leaders of the Russophiles were approached accordingly through the leader of the Polish Club in the Duma, M. Roman Dmowski. M. Dmowski had no difficulty in getting into touch with Count Bobrinsky, and an arrangement was made between the two. In return for a free hand to the Russophiles in East Galicia, Bobrinsky was to use his influence at Petrograd to secure certain concessions to the Poles in Russian Poland. One feature of the agreement was an arrangement by which the Polish landlords, who under the iniquitous system of Church patronage prevailing hold many of the Uniate livings in East Galicia, should be induced only to appoint Russophile incumbents. The Dmowski-Bobrinsky understanding lasted down to the war.

In the early part of 1914 certain Russophile journalists were put on their trial by the Austrian Government at Lemberg on a charge of high treason. A Polish jury acquitted them and they were laden with flowers on leaving the court. A similar trial took place at the same time in connection with propaganda in one of the two or three Ruthene districts in Hungary. At the Hungarian trial a good deal of peasant evidence was taken. It is interesting reading; for there is nothing so difficult as to discover what the peasants really think of those who speak in their name. The great feature of the Russian propaganda in this case, it appeared, was a wonderful magnifying-glass, through which a certain Father Kabalyuk, a missionary of Orthodoxy, showed the peasants pictures of saints. Other witnesses gave as their reason for following Father Kabalyuk's teaching that 'he prayed in such a beautiful voice.' There was no evidence to show that the peasants had any inkling of political drift in the priest's propaganda; and very little evidence against the priest himself, though he was convicted and sentenced to four and a half years' imprisonment. Two months later, after the assassination of the Archduke, a number of the Russophile leaders withdrew to Russia. It was in these circumstances that the war broke out. The Russian 'liberators' poured into Galicia; and the Grand Duke Nicholas in a manifesto hailed the Ruthenes as brothers who

had 'languished for centuries under a foreign yoke,' and urged them to 'raise the banner of United Russia.'

The first Russian Governor of Galicia was a member of the well-known Russian family of Sheremetiev. His policy was to secure the support of the Poles for the military occupation and to leave the internal affairs of the province alone. This was by no means the programme of the Pan-Slavs, and they set to work at Petrograd to attack him. After a few weeks he was superseded (September, 1914); and Count George Bobrinsky, a cousin of Count Vladimir, was appointed in his place. Count George received his cousin and a deputation of Russophiles on the day after his arrival in Galicia, and asked for their co-operation. A drastic Russifying programme was immediately announced: and as a first step the Metropolitan was deported to Russia, where he remained in exile until the revolution. It was not the first time a Ruthene archbishop had been imprisoned by the enemy of Austria. A hundred years before the Russians had arrested one of Sheptitsky's predecessors; and there is, or was, a curious inscription on the wall of one of the rooms in the Archbishop's palace. It ran as follows:

'The enemy of Austria cannot sojourn in this palace. He is tormented there night and day. The imprisonment of the Metropolitan is the guarantee of the victory of our troops, and of the revival of Austria. *Castigans castigavit me Dominus sed morti non tradidit.*'

Having deported the Archbishop, the occupying authorities struck hard at the Nationalists. At last it was possible to 'deal with the Ukrainian question as a whole,' and to stamp out once and for all 'the unwholesome growth of sterile Mazeppism.' Every newspaper in Ukrainian was suppressed; every Ukrainian library was closed; the Nationalist educational societies (*Prosvita*) were wound up; and a penalty of three months' imprisonment or 3,000 roubles fine was imposed for selling, or procuring from a library or from another person, any Ukrainian book published beyond the boundaries of Russia (*Order of the Governor-General, Sept.* 30, 1914). Similar rules were applied in the Bukovina, when the Russians occupied Czernowitz (*Order of Jan.* 21, 1915). A large influx of Russian Pan-Slavists had taken place immediately after Bobrinsky's appointment; and several of the Russian Ministries had sent agents to report on the occupied territory. The most notable of these visitors was the Russian Bishop Eulogius of Volhynia, who has long been an ardent supporter of the Orthodox propaganda, and has won a name as a specialist in bringing over Uniates in Kholm and in Podlakhia. He was strongly backed by the Holy Synod. At the very outset of the occupation the Bishops of the Ukrainian dioceses of Russia, Kiev, Kharkov, Podolia, Poltava, Kishinev, and Kherson, were instructed to make arrangements to place at his disposal as many Ukrainian-speaking popes as he should ask for to undertake missionary work in Galicia. It was further announced in the Russian press that the Holy Synod had set aside a capital sum sufficient to maintain 100 parish popes at 1,300 roubles per annum, and 100 chanters at 300 roubles—rates considerably higher than the Uniate Church can afford. All parishes in which there were no Uniate priests—and many had left with the retreating Austrians —were filled with these popes without further formalities. In others, 'when a parish expressed a desire to go over to Orthodoxy,' a vote by ballot was taken.* A three-quarters majority was required in these cases; and Church property was preserved to the Uniate Church, unless the three-quarters majority included the priest. In all during the occupation rather over a hundred parishes were provided with Orthodox popes, and fifteen Uniate priests went over to Orthodoxy.

When the Russian retreat began, the Government gave orders to evacuate the civil population, and the Russophiles told the peasants that land would be found for them in Russia. The country was to be laid waste, and all barns and agricultural implements destroyed, according to the usual Russian programme. It seems that the programme was not carried out in Galicia with the terrible efficiency which it assumed elsewhere. Nor pos-

* Count Bobrinsky interviewed by the *Secolo*, April 29, 1915.

sibly was the number of peasants actually evacuated more than a few thousands. Accounts from Russian sources of the retreat say that they completely blocked the roads, and were reduced to great privations by the requisitioning of their cattle on the way to feed the retreating troops. There was of course no land ready for them in Russia.

The Duma interpellated the Government on these proceedings and on the Ukrainian policy in general (August 28, Sept. 10, 1915). One of the Liberal papers of Petrograd published next day the following malicious comment on the debate:

'When we were in occupation of Galicia, there was a swoop of Pan-Slavists looking for jobs in the good work of Russification. "Here I am," said Ivan. "Here I am!" shouted Paul. Now when it is a question of who was responsible for the thousands of unfortunate refugees, enticed into Russia by false promises of land, they are all crying sadly: "It was not I," "It was not I." Ivan says it was Paul. Paul says it was Ivan. As for Eulogius, he is inclined to think he was not given a free enough hand.'

Meanwhile in Russian Ukraine the Nationalist papers, which had sprung up in Kiev, Kharkov, and elsewhere since 1905, had all been suppressed on the day after the outbreak of the war; and the reversion to the *status quo ante* 1905 in regard to the Ukrainian movement was complete. Certain Nationalists were sent to Siberia, amongst them the *doyen* of Nationalism, the historian Prof. Hrushevsky. Others made their way to Vienna, where with the support of the Austrian General Staff they founded a body called the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine, and helped to organize Ukrainian legions. But in the Ukraine itself from the outbreak of the war to the outbreak of the revolution silence reigned. The Cadets at one time took up the Ukrainian Nationalists in connection with their campaign against the Government; but even the very cautious, general terms in which, after their manner—there was no party in Russia which the subject nationalities so deeply distrusted—they declared for 'cultural autonomy' for the Ukraine, produced a split in the party, and the well-known deputy Struve resigned from the Central Committee (1915). On this silence in Little Russia fell the crash of revolution.

At the outset the Nationalist *intelligentsia* took control. Early in April, 1917, they collected a Ukrainian National Congress at Kiev, which pronounced for autonomy within the Russian Republic. Separatist tendencies were not strong at this Congress. The Congress further elected a Council or Rada, so named after the ancient Assembly of Ukrainian Cossacks; and Prof. Hrushevsky was acclaimed its president. The Rada demanded from the Russian Provisional Government recognition of Ukrainian autonomy, immediate local control, and the formation of a separate Ukrainian army. The Cadet attitude in reply to these demands was to refer the question to the Russian Constituent Assembly, in which (as both parties very well knew) the Ukrainians would be completely outnumbered. In studying the record of their brief spell of power in this year it is astonishing to observe with what light-heartedness the Russian Liberals down to the very last treated the National movements of the subject nations. Their attitude constitutes the strongest proof of the deep roots which Pan-Slavism had struck in Russian political mentality. Failing to obtain any satisfaction of their demands, the Rada set up an independent Government. The conflict was still in progress, and the Rada was drifting towards a complete rupture, when the Bolshevists precipitated matters by their *coup d'etat* of November, 1917.

The Bolshevist revolution stripped the outer shell of intellectual parliamentarism, and laid bare to the daylight the explosive forces which were stored within the frame-work of the new State. The Rada was 'Kerenskist' in character: it was dominated by the Social Revolutionary party (Kerensky's party), with a more or less complacent phalanx of bourgeoisie in the background. It had secured the support of the peasants and soldiers, or at least had met with no opposition from either of these classes—for neither was consulted—partly by appeals to the always latent antipathy which exists between Little Russian and Great Russian, partly owing to a confused idea on the part of the masses that a new Government, 'our own Government,' would surely end the war. But, as has been explained, the

population in the towns, whether Ukrainian or Russian or Jewish had always been far more susceptible to Russian than to Ukrainian Nationalist influences: it read the Russian papers, and belonged to the Russian political parties. When after the Bolshevist revolution Soviets began to be formed in the towns, some were Bolshevist and some were not; but none were Ukrainian Nationalist. Doubtless there were Nationalists amongst their members; but at such a time the trumpet-call of the social revolution dominated all other cries. The Soviets declared a general strike for two days, and allowed no bourgeois papers to appear. The episode opened the eyes of the *intelligentsia* to their own weakness. For the first time the Social Revolutionaries in the Rada were up against the realities of government. To do them justice they attempted to grapple with these realities according to their lights. They saw that, if they were to fight the Soviets, they must base their government on the support of the peasantry. To what other class could they appeal? The nobility, the bureaucracy, the Church, the proletariat in the towns, all were more or less hostile. Except for themselves—and they were not under the delusion (which to the end obsessed the Russian Liberals) that governments can be based upon an *intelligentsia*—only the peasantry were Nationalists, or could be made into Nationalists. To the peasantry, therefore, they proceeded to appeal.

Every one knew what the peasants wanted. Every party had long included it as a plank in their programme; and the Social Revolutionaries themselves had made it a special feature. The peasants wanted more land. Accordingly on Nov. 20, 1917, the Rada government issued a *Universale* or decree—it was the old word used of the Hetman's decrees in the sixteenth century—abolishing all private ownership in large estates, Crown and Church lands, and the Imperial Appanages, without compensation. Land Committees were to be set up to carry the decree into effect. The *Universale* further proclaimed various measures, such as State control of production, an eight hours day in factories, and the abolition of the death penalty, with which it was hoped to take the Soviets' water and do something for the prestige of the Rada in the towns. The Land Committees assembled and got to work. The history of the next six months is well known. The Rada made its separate peace. The Soviets with the aid of Russian Bolshevists overturned the Rada and took Kiev. The troops of the Central Powers re-took Kiev, and re-established the Rada in ignominious tutelage. They had hardly done so when 'a body of peasants' marched on Kiev, dissolved the Rada, and invested a large landowner, an ex-Russian general, with dictatorial powers and the title of Hetman. The Hetman immediately proclaimed the restoration of the rights of private property, 'the foundation of culture and civilization,' and treated as null and void the decrees of the Rada Government.

This bewildering political record is not intelligible without its social and economic background. The *Universale*, which confiscated the large estates, did not transfer the land into the possession of the individual peasants, but to district and communal committees. The theory of land-tenure, which the Social Revolutionaries responsible for the *Universale* affected, was that every peasant should have as much land as he could cultivate without hired labor, but in usufruct only and not in possession; he was not to be able to sell or bequeath it: the land was to belong to the community. This was substantially the system on which the greater part of the peasant-land in Great Russia, and some of the peasant-land in Little Russia, was held before the Revolution. It was the system stereotyped by the Tsar Alexander II, when he abolished serfage in 1861. With the confiscation of the large estates it would be possible to apply the system on an infinitely more generous scale. In the Black Earth Zone, in which most of the agricultural Ukraine lies, the peasants at the abolition of serfage received allotments ranging from 8¾ to 3¾ acres. It is calculated that in this region 16¼ acres is the minimum on which a peasant family can support itself without seeking outside work. It might seem therefore that all that was needed was to increase the peasant's allotment to 16¼ acres apiece out of the new confiscated land of the large proprietors. So the Social Revolutionaries thought: and up to this point the peasants cordially agreed with them.

But there was a fundamental difference between the peasant standpoint and that of the Social Revolutionary *intelligentsia*. The *intelligentsia* did not believe in the institution of property. The peasants believed that some one else was in possession of their property. Manifestly the two could co-operate up to a certain point, but no further. When the Land Committees were formed, and the distribution of the land began, difficulties at once arose. The legislation of 1861-1863, which abolished serfage in Russia, assumed (with certain qualifications) the existing communal cultivation of the land; but it distinguished between communal ownership and private ownership by the members of the commune. A Russian commune is a kind of large farm. For technical reasons, such as the necessity of providing every year a definite amount of pasture, it cannot be left to the individual cultivator to do what he pleases with his land. He has to leave a certain proportion to pasture, observe the established rotation, and the like. This is what is meant by communal cultivation; and prevails alike under private or communal ownership. The chief practical difference for the individual peasant between private and communal ownership is in the matter of redistribution of the land. Communally owned land is redistributed at certain intervals between the members of the commune; and one of the chief economic arguments against the commune is the tendency which the system of redistribution has to discourage individual effort. What advantage is it to Ivan Ivan'itch to keep his land clean or manure it, if at the end of ten or fifteen years he may be obliged by the commune to hand it over, and to take in exchange the land of Nikolai Nikolayevitch, who is a drunkard and does not even take the trouble to plough? In communes, on the other hand, where the land is privately owned, there is no redistribution. At the time of the Abolition the system of communal ownership was adopted for the great majority of communes in Great Russia, while the system of private ownership was adopted for the great majority of communes in Little Russia. When the *Universale* was issued, therefore, the principle of communal ownership was by tradition alien to all but a minority of the Ukrainian peasants.

Provision had been made in the Abolition Law of 1861 to enable freed serfs to purchase their allotments by paying off the redemption capital, and to take them out of the commune. These facilities were greatly increased by the foundation of the State Land Bank in 1883. And recent agrarian legislation has been directed avowedly to the abolition, not merely of communal ownership, but of the whole system of communal cultivation. The far-reaching Stolypin reforms of 1906-1908 declared the legal abolition of communal cultivation in all communes with private ownership, that is to say, in the majority of the communes of the Ukraine. This meant that thenceforward the Ukrainian peasant was the legal owner of his allotment, in almost the same sense that a French or German peasant is the owner of his land. Specially appointed bodies were entrusted with the work of constituting self-contained, self-supporting farms, and breaking up the village system. To provide additional land to carry out these reforms, certain Crown lands were made over to the State Land Bank; and the Bank acquired in addition a number of private estates. In the six years after the passing of the Stolypin Laws 738,980 peasants were settled in self-contained farms; and 585,571 peasants were settled in groups smaller than the communes according to a prepared scheme specially designed to form a transition stage between communal and individual cultivation. The Bank in the same six years transferred to peasants some 18,000,000 acres. As in the previous twenty-three years of its existence, from its foundation in 1883 down to the Stolypin reforms, it had dealt only with 22,000,000 acres, it will be clear that the reforms had notably quickened the process of transition to private ownership, even though no more than the fringe of the problem had been touched.

In communes with communal ownership the Stolypin Laws made it optional for the communes to go over to private ownership. The majority of the Ukrainian communes, having communal ownership, have availed themselves of these facilities. The truth is, the commune is an institution very well suited to the Great Russian temperament, and very ill suited to the Ukrainian temperament. The commune appeals to that fundamental

belief, which is ingrained in the Great Russian, in the majesty of the whole and the insignificance of the unit. Many of those who know Russia feel that that belief is amongst the noblest manifestations of the Russian character. However that may be, it forms no part of the Ukrainian character. The first thought of the Great Russian peasant is for the general well-being. The first thought of the Ukrainian peasant is for his own. He is profoundly individualist. He admires success, as the English or Americans admire it; he may envy and abuse it, but the sight of it excites his emulation. It is not so with the Great Russian peasant. There have always of course been individual peasants in the Great Russian communes who have grown richer than their neighbors, and acquired their own land in private possession. But their example has rarely been infectious; they have been more disliked than admired by their fellow-peasants, and their success has been attributed rather to the will of God than to the efforts of the successful individual. This psychological difference between the two peoples has undoubtedly tended to retard in the case of Great Russia, and to promote in the case of Ukraine, the formation of a class of land-owning peasants. But there was another factor, an historical factor, tending to differentiate the economic development of the two peoples.

Three and four centuries ago, when the Ukraine formed part of the dominions of the Polish Crown, large numbers of peasants, to escape the cruelties of Polish rule, fled to the steppe and organized themselves in communities of brigands or Cossacks. There were several of these communities, but the largest was that of the Zaporogian or Zaporovian Cossacks, whose country was the region (now cultivated but then virgin prairie) to the north of the Black Sea, *za porohi* 'beyond the rapids' of the Lower Dnieper. After the Ukraine passed from Polish into Russian hands, these Cossack communities were gradually dissolved. A section of the Zaporovians, unwilling to settle to a purely agricultural life, migrated to the Kuban region north of the Caucasus, and form to-day the Kuban *voisko* of the Cossacks. They still speak Ukrainian. All the rest were given grants of land, and settled as free peasants in what are now the governments of Poltava, Tchernihov, and Kharkov. Their descendants, though they have no military organization and have nothing to do with the true Cossacks of the Don, the Caucasus, and Siberia, are commonly called 'Cossacks' to this day. These Cossacks, or free peasants, who have never known serfage and have owned their own land for four or five generations, have formed in Ukraine a nucleus, round which all those more enterprising elements among the peasantry, who through the Land Bank or otherwise have acquired their own land, tend politically to group. For years past the Ukrainian peasant has had the standing object-lesson of a whole class of successful land-owning cultivators existing on the same soil and under the same natural conditions side by side with a whole class of unsuccessful communal cultivators. The object-lesson has not been without its effect; and now that the land, as by miracle, has become available with which to make experiments, it has suddenly acquired acute practical significance.

It has already been shown that the land allotments at the Abolition were too small. Since the Abolition the population in spite of a very large emigration has increased by 43 per cent., whereas it is estimated that the additional land made available for the peasants, whether by purchase or leasehold, represents an increase of only 20 per cent. This shortage of land has had the effect of bringing the peasant once more into economic dependence on the landlord, and has gone far to undo all the work of the Abolition Laws. The process has been as follows: The communal land proving insufficient to provide the pasture, which is indispensable for communal cultivation, the peasants have been forced to apply to the neighboring large estates for the lease of pasture-land. The large estates let is as a rule not in return for money payments but for labor. The peasant undertakes to harvest so much of the proprietor's arable, and in return is allowed so much of the proprietor's pasture on which to graze his cattle. Frequently a commune makes an agreement of this sort for common pasture for the whole village. Where the land-shortage is especially acute the peasants may even be forced to rent arable from the proprietors. Under this system it is clear that the direct compulsion to work, which existed in

the time of serfage, has merely been exchanged for indirect compulsion; and the worst economic feature of serfage, the fact that the peasant's interest is to do as little as he can, is retained.

The peasant-land under this system is steadily becoming less fertile. Before the Abolition the system of tillage was to keep a field under cultivation year in year out, till the soil was visibly getting impoverished, and then leave it under pasture for twice the same number of years. The original steppe cultivation was five years arable followed by fifteen years pasture. It was reckoned that during this fallow period the pasture was at its best from the fourth to the eighth year, and that by the end of the fifteenth year the land was virgin steppe once more. But this system implied that only one-fifth of the land was kept under cultivation. That is no longer possible even on the large estates. On the exiguous peasant allotments it is wholly impracticable. The result has been that the pasture-land has been steadily diminished, and the dependence of the peasants on the large estates proportionately increased. The peasants will now plough a field for six years on end, and then leave it to pasture for three years only. Many communes have no communal pasture at all; and the soil is continuously ploughed with some such rotation as rye, spring wheat, rye, barley, and (when the soil has been quite exhausted) buckwheat. With the diminution of pasture goes the weakening of the cattle. Then the peasant gives up the plough, which, primitive as it is, at any rate penetrates three inches into the earth. But it requires a good yoke of oxen to draw it. In place of it the peasant uses the *sokha*, which requires only one strong ox or a weak yoke, but on the other hand penetrates only one and a half inches. If his cattle weaken still more, the peasant gives up ploughing, sows his winter corn on the stubble of the spring corn, and contents himself with scratching over the soil with a kind of large rake, made of wood with three to six iron teeth at intervals of about five inches. The end is emigration. In the last year before the war, for which statistics are available, of all the peasants from European Russia emigrating to Central Asia, 62 per cent. came from the Ukrainian provinces, that is to say, from the Black Earth Zone, the granary of Eastern Europe!

The contrast between a peasant village with communal cultivation and a village of Cossacks owning their own land leaps to the eye. The appearance of the fields is quite different. In the summer, when the corn is full grown, it is seen to be free from tares on the Cossack land, whereas on the peasant land it is usual to find it more or less overgrown. In the winter the Cossack fields are covered with heaps of fertilizer; the peasant fields have none. The villages of the two are not very different to look at, but the houses of the Cossacks generally have a garden attached, which with the peasants is hardly ever the case. In their gardens the Cossacks grow vegetables for the market on an extensive scale. Though it cannot be said that the Cossack's agriculture is scientific—for scientific agriculture presupposes educational attainments to which the Cossack is a complete stranger—he is keen to make it profitable, whereas the majority of the peasants do not aspire to be more than self-supporting. Socially the Cossacks have a peculiar status, midway between the peasantry and the *petite noblesse*. The peasants sometimes call the richer ones *polupanki* (half-lords), though their standard of living is in no way different from that of the peasants. And since on the one hand they have never had the burden of the redemption dues, and on the other hand they have never felt the need either of French novels or of English governesses for their children, they have been steadily growing richer, whereas both the *petite noblesse* and the peasants have been steadily growing poorer. A large number of these Cossacks, having holdings large enough to be self-supporting, have lived on them, taking no employment from anyone else.* Richer Cossacks rent land extensively from the large and medium estates, paying for it almost always in cash and not in labor. In addition to renting land, they

* As stated above, 16¼ acres is estimated to be the minimum on which a family can be self-supporting; 40 acres is reckoned the maximum which a single family can work, or with the use of labor-saving machinery anything up to 80 acres.

frequently purchase land, sometimes even dispensing with the aid of the Land Bank. In many districts, where they are settled, they are slowly breaking up the large estates. Some own many hundreds of acres. The German economist, Prof. Schulze-Gaevernitz, in his studies of the Black Earth Zone (*Volkswirtschaftliche Studien aus Russland*, Leipzig, 1899) describes a visit to one of these Cossacks in Kobelyaki, who owned nearly 3,000 acres. This man had just purchased an estate, with the chateau of the former owner thrown in; and Schulze-Gaevernitz found he had converted the parquet of the drawing-room into a threshing-floor!

There is no doubt that the Cossacks have led the opposition to the introduction or restoration of communal ownership, which culminated in the *coup d'etat* of May, 1918. That the bulk of the peasants relish their lead is however far from probable; for the Cossacks have not a reputation as philanthropists.

'We know you Cossacks,' the poorer peasants say; 'you are all fist. You 'grow richer, while your neighbors grow poorer. Why did all the souls of 'Petrovka village, save three, emigrate last year to Siberia? Because the 'Cossacks had bought up their allotments. We grow bread for our children 'to eat; but the Cossacks sell corn to the Jews in Odessa....'

And so on. Such things were no doubt said a hundred times over on the Land Committees formed under the short-lived *Universale*. But this time the Cossacks could reply:

'There is land enough for all now, brother: why not take it, and do 'the same?'

This *argumentum ad hominem* seems to have been effective; though doubtless its success would not have been so dramatic or immediate, but for the German desire to materialize some of the fruits of the famous Bread Peace. But, with or without the German occupation, and whether the *latifundia* are appropriated *en bloc* or broken up gradually, it seems certain that the Cossack party, that is to say the Cossacks themselves and all the richer peasants, hold the economic future in Ukraine. They represent the process of transition from primitive to modern agriculture. The process began long ago, and was inevitable with the growth of the population and the passing of the steppe. It was immensely accelerated by the Stolypin reforms. Even a strong Government, such as the Rada was not, could do little to arrest or deflect it. Great Russia is perhaps capable of sacrificing economic progress to a social ideal; for the Great Russians are of those peoples who have faith, and with them all things are possible. But the Ukraine is not Great Russia; and no speculations as to the future can be of value which do not take this fundamental consideration into account.

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THE UKRAINE, A NEW NATION

IF IT MAINTAINS ITS INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE, IT WILL TAKE RANK AS ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT STATES OF EUROPE.

By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG
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(From *Munsey's Magazine*, October, 1918)

The largest and richest of the half-dozen vassal states which German diplomacy has lately carved out of storm-racked Russia; a land without which any future Russian nation would be but a shadow of its former self, and for which the Kaiser could afford to give up several Alsace-Lorraines; the home, indeed, of the sixth most numerous race in Europe—that is Ukraine, a country of which probably not one American in fifty had so much as heard up to a year and a half ago. It is said that a lady of much intelligence, on early mention of the place, took it to be the locale of a Viennese comic opera.

For a certain indefiniteness of ideas on the subject there has been fair excuse. Until 1917, one would have searched the political maps in vain for the name. Until then the Ukraine was indeed "a very vast, very fertile, and very beautiful country that did not exist."

There was no Ukraine; but there were more than thirty-three million Ukrainians—one of the great submerged nationalities of Europe, equally with the Poles, the Czechs, and the Jews. They had a distinct ethnic character, an illustrious history, a brilliant literature, and an ineradicable longing for political unity and autonomy. But their country, whose very name —meaning "border-land"—was ominous, had long been divided up between two great and unsympathetic empires.

They were themselves called by a dozen different terms—Ukrainians, South Russians, Little Russians, Ruthenians, Galicians, and what not. Until the Russian revolution of 1917 cut the cords that bound the subjugated peoples of the old Muscovite Empire, their hope of realizing their age-long dreams was slender.

Of the thirty-three million Ukrainians in Europe in 1914, twenty-eight millions dwelt in Russia, and were commonly known as Malorossi, or Little Russians. About five millions lived in Austria-Hungary—three and one-half millions in Galicia, one million in Hungarian districts west of the Carpathians, and a half-million in Bukovina. In Serbia there were two millions, in the United States four hundred thousand, in Canada half as many, in South America one hundred thousand, and elsewhere throughout the world enough to make up a grand total of thirty-six millions, equal to one-third of the whole population of the United States.

Leaving out of account large districts in which Ukrainians are numerous, but not preponderant, the region occupied by this mighty people extends unbroken from Central Galicia to beyond the Sea of Azov, and from the latitude of the River Pripet to the Black Sea. It has an area of three

hundred and thirty thousand square miles, which is nearly one and one-quarter times the size of Texas and over one and one-half times that of France.

Most of it lies in the famous black-earth belt of Southern Russia, one of the main grain-producing regions of the world. It is fabulously rich in coal, iron, petroleum, and salt. It has a climate so characteristic, and so salubrious, as to lead a great French geographer to set up the *climat oukrainien* as a type.

It commands the shores of the Black Sea from the delta of the Danube to the mouth of the Kuban. Its historic capital is Kiev; its modern metropolis and emporium, the magnificent port of Odessa.

KIEV, THE MOTHER OF RUSSIAN CITIES.

Such a region could not fail to catch the eye of the early nation-builders, and it is not surprising that by the tenth century Kiev was the seat of a Slavic monarchy whose power was spread over all the Ukrainian lands of the present day, and over other territories besides—a state which concluded treaties with the proud Byzantine government on equal terms. Under Vladimir the Great, who came to the throne about 980, the people accepted Christianity, in the Greek Orthodox form; and a high degree of culture, as well as commercial prosperity, was reached while as yet the great central and northern Russian lands lay wholly undeveloped. It was from Kiev, "the mother of Russian cities," that Christianity spread eastward and northward. Kiev, indeed, is still the "holy city," to which, before the war, thousands made pilgrimage every year from all parts of the Empire.

In the thirteenth century Ukraine crumbled before the onslaughts of Genghis Khan's Tatar hordes from Central Asia. Its fertile plains were laid waste; Kiev and other cities were reduced to ashes. Thousands of men and women were carried into captivity; other thousands died of starvation; the surviving population pushed northward and northwestward, especially into Galicia, in quest of safety.

Here began the unhappy chapters of Ukrainian history which have continued with hardly a relieving touch to the present day. After the Tatar wave receded, the fugitives repossessed themselves of their old homes. But the opportunity to build a great and enduring Ukrainian state had passed; for in the mean time other Slavic states had risen on the north which coveted the southern lands and were powerful enough to bring them under control.

The first state to extend its sway over the weakened Ukrainians was Lithuania, which had suffered little from the Tatar incursion. For two hundred years the Lithuanian kings bore sway with moderation; but after 1569, when Lithuania was joined with Poland, bringing the Ukraine into subjection to that turbulent kingdom, the rule of the foreigner became extremely oppressive.

For a hundred years the Ukrainian Cossacks carried on almost constant war for the liberation of their country, and in the middle of the seventeenth century, under their great hetman, Bogdan Chmielnitzky, their efforts were crowned with success. The Polish yoke was completely thrown off; although the incubus of Polish landlordism hangs heavy upon many Ukrainian territories to this day.

Doubtful of the country's ability to stand alone, the Ukrainian National Council, or Rada, decided to seek an alliance with another rising Slavic power. This was the Czardom of Muscovy, the state of the Great Russians, centering at Moscow, and then ruled over by the Czar Alexis, father of Peter the Great. A treaty of 1654 consummated the arrangement, fixing the fate of the mass of Ukrainian people for two hundred and fifty years.

At Kiev the understanding was that the Ukraine should be autonomous, with full right to retain and develop its essentially democratic, political, and social organization. Moscow had a different idea. Despising and fearing the Ukrainian democracy, the Czars forthwith made it plain that they intended to be the real rulers in the new lands, and to make them like the rest of the imperial dominions.

ROMANOFF RULE IN THE UKRAINE.

When too late, the Ukrainians bitterly repented their choice of a friend; and they spent the next fifty years trying to break the chains that they had forged for themselves. Their most notable effort is associated with the name of the hetman Mazeppa, who in 1709 joined forces with Charles XII, of Sweden, the Mad King of the North, and staked everything on one last grand attempt to win the independence of his people. The allies suffered complete defeat at Poltava; and there Ukrainian liberty was brought to the grave, from which in these present days a new nation is seeking to rise.

From Peter the Great onward, the Muscovite government worked systematically to stamp out every trace of Ukrainian nationality. The centralizing work of Peter was completed by Catherine II, who deposed the last hetman in 1774, crushed the last Cossack strongholds in 1775, introduced Russian administration in 1780, and in 1783 replaced the old peasant liberties by serfdom in its cruelest forms. The local churches were subjected to the Patriarch of Moscow, and popular education, which had gone farther in the Ukraine than in any other part of Eastern Europe, was practically regulated out of existence. Even the name of Ukraine was in disfavor; to make it appear that they were only a branch of the one Russian people, the Ukrainians were always referred to officially—and, much to their disgust, were compelled to refer to themselves—as Little Russians.

Indeed, from as early as 1690, unremitting effort was made to destroy the Ukrainian language, even though philologists assigned it an honored place as an independent tongue, and notwithstanding the fact that to force it into disuse meant to dry up the springs of one of the noblest of Slavic literatures.

"The Ukrainian language," thundered the Ministry of the Interior in 1863, "never has existed, does not exist, and must not exist."

Officially, it was but a dialect; even as such, its cultivation was viewed as a treasonable step toward separatism. A ukase of 1876, which remained in effect until 1905, forbade publication within the limits of the Empire of anything in the Ukrainian speech except books of an antiquarian nature. Addresses and sermons in the language of the people were equally forbidden, and the use of Ukrainian in the few schools that survived was unconditionally prohibited.

As a result, there is no part of the Russian Ukraine to-day in which the rate of illiteracy falls below fifty per cent. The people have been cut off from opportunity to acquire learning in their own tongue; they will not, or cannot, take it in the Great Russian in which it is offered to them.

THE RUTHENIANS OF RUSSIA.

As a result of the successive partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century, a considerable portion of the Ukraine, including chiefly Eastern Galicia and the province of Bukovina, fell to Austria-Hungary. For a time the Hapsburg rule was mild, and to this day the legal status of the Ruthenians, as the Ukrainians of Austria-Hungary are called, is much superior to that of their brethren across the Russian border. The imperial constitution guarantees them substantial rights, and their language is one of the eight officially recognized tongues of the polyglot Empire. It is used in the courts, the schools, the government service, the universities of Lemberg and Czernovitz; and, with Polish, it is one of the forms of speech officially used in the Galician Diet.

The Ruthenians were thus favored in earlier days because of the desire at Vienna to use them as a makeweight against the Poles. The failure of the Polish insurrection against Russia in 1863, however, allayed apprehension in this direction, and in the next few decades the lot of the Ruthenians changed rapidly for the worse.

As in Russia, they were a peasant folk, possessing little wealth. The land was held by the Polish aristocracy, trade was in the hands of the Jews. The Ruthenians were hardly tenants, but rather farm-hands, earning on

an average twenty cents a day, and often practically bound for life to their employers by indebtedness. Even to-day, many of them would starve if their kindred beyond the sea, especially in America, did not regularly send over remittances from their savings.

In the later nineteenth century the Vienna government did little to protect them in their rights; rather, it bought Polish support by openly encouraging the cruel exploitation practised by the landlords, and by sanctioning a virtual Polish monopoly of political power. For a generation before the present war a cardinal fact in the tangled politics of the Dual Monarchy was the deadly combat in Galicia between the Poles and the Ruthenians. The latter were everywhere on the defensive, waging what appeared to be a losing fight for their language, their cherished educational institutions, and a democratic franchise to be exercised without corruption or intimidation.

Meanwhile the Ukrainian spirit, though sorely tried, was not crushed; and in the second quarter of the nineteenth century a national movement set in which is by no means unworthy of being compared with the Greek, Serbian, and Italian revivals of the same period. To prevent the people from losing their sense of racial unity, scholars brought together and furtively printed and circulated the national songs, legends, and other folklore. Societies were founded to organize national sentiment.

The iron hand of both Russian and Austrian autocracy, however, fell relentlessly upon the movement, and upon all who were suspected of having any connection with it. Typical was the fate of the poet-painter, Taras Shevchenko, the Burns of the Slavic world.

Born a serf, liberated through the efforts of the St. Petersburg Academy of Art, which recognized his genius; pouring forth in glowing verse the national aspirations of his people; arrested, convicted of "being actuated by his own vicious tendencies," and sentenced in 1847 to ten years of Siberian military service, which broke him in body and spirit, so that he died a year after his release—Shevchenko became the incarnation of the awakened Ukrainian soul. To this day Ukrainians make pilgrimages to his tomb on the bank of the Dnieper, and recite with heaving bosoms such of his verses as:

Dig my grave and raise my barrow
By the Dnieper-side,
In Ukrainia, my own land,
A fair land and wide.
I will lie and watch the corn-fields,
Listen through the years
To the river voices roaring,
Roaring in my ears.

Bury me, be done with me;
Rise and break your chain,
Water your new liberty
With blood for rain!
Then in the mighty family
Of all men free,
Maybe sometimes, very softly,
You will think of me.

In the early years of the present century there was no room for doubt as to what the Ukrainian patriots wanted. The supreme object of all their labors and sufferings was a revived Ukrainian nationality, to be recognized and dealt with as a great racial body and political unit, with inalienable powers and rights. This would mean, among other things, unrestricted use of the native tongue; schools under Ukrainian control; a native clergy; a free press; reform of a tax system that robbed the Ukraine for the benefit of Russia proper; legislation to promote the wider distribution of land; and a separate system of administration, under Ukrainian control.

There was no expectation of national independence; but the Ukraine, it was urged, should be erected into an autonomous political division, federated with Great Russia on equal terms. All this, the Ukrainians argued, meant only a restoration of rights fully guaranteed by the treaty of union of 1654.

In Austria-Hungary the movement assumed a more purely separatist character. For a long time its leaders were divided among themselves. The so-called Old Ruthenians, or Moscalophiles, leaned toward Russia; the Young Ruthenians favored union with their fellows of the Russian lands in a totally independent kingdom. Since 1908 the second element has been fully in control.

Meanwhile the more immediate demand of all factions was for a division of the autonomous crownland of Galicia into two separate and self-governing provinces—western (Polish) and eastern (Ruthenian)—with two diets, at Cracow and Lemberg, instead of one at Lemberg. To this plan the Poles, who dominated the whole country, were bitterly opposed.

The Russian Revolution of 1905-1906 brought the Ukrainians fresh hope. Scarcely had it broken upon the astonished autocracy before the whole southland was aflame with democratic and nationalistic agitation. A flourishing Ukrainian press sprang up at Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, and Poltava; in 1905 alone thirty-four newspapers were founded; popular pamphlets and other literature were spread broadcast; schools were established and patriotic societies founded on every hand; forty representatives went to the first Duma to plead for land reform, federalism, and Ukrainian liberty.

In the main, however, these gains were but temporary. The demand for Ukrainian autonomy, and for the reorganization of the Empire on a federal basis, was resisted not only by the extreme reactionaries, but by all the groups that lay between these and the revolutionary parties; and when the wave of revolution began to recede, the Ukrainian program was allowed short shrift. Under Stolypin's artfully contrived suffrage law of 1907 Ukrainian deputies vanished from the Duma; the national societies were again repressed; the Ukrainian tongue was once more forbidden in the schools, notwithstanding the fact that the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences had lately pronounced it an entirely distinct language.

The reaction drove the movement under ground again; but to little purpose, for the agitation went steadily on. In 1909, two hundred thousand copies of Ukrainian books were published; in 1911, six hundred thousand.

Furthermore, the Ukrainian question now took on an important international aspect by becoming a critical issue between Russia and Austria-Hungary. Galicia, and particularly the university city of Lemberg, had become the principal center of agitation, and the Russian nationalist interests hotly resented the incendiary influence exerted from that quarter upon the Ukrainians of the eastern Empire. In 1912 and 1913 Francis Joseph and the Czar Nicholas discussed the subject with feeling, and up to the very date of the Serajevo tragedy of 1914 inspired Russian newspapers were warning Austria that if she did not take drastic steps to curb the Ukrainian propaganda in Galicia, the Czar's government would be obliged to declare war on her as a means of removing the menace.

THE UKRAINE IN THE GREAT WAR.

When war actually came, the fate of the Ukraine was instantly involved. One of the first major operations in the east was the Russian invasion of Galicia, which brought the Ruthenian portion of the province into Muscovite hands. The policy of the conquerors was neither generous nor wise. Their sole object was thoroughgoing Russification, with a view to stamping out all connection between the Ruthenians and the Ukrainians across the border.

On the theory that the country was merely a recovered bit of Russia, the governors in charge during the occupation closed every Ruthenian school, prohibited the public use of the Ruthenian tongue and enjoined the

use of Russian, shut up all the Ruthenian bookstores when it became known that officers and soldiers were resorting to them for literature forbidden at home, introduced Russian law, replaced Uniate by Greek Orthodox priests, and sent off the Archbishop of Lemberg to Russia, where he remained a prisoner until the revolution of 1917. Under these circumstances, one can readily credit the report that no Austrian regiments on the eastern front have fought with more stubbornness or bitterness than those composed of Ruthenians.

At home, to the last of the old regime, Russia concluded to hold the Ukrainians in merciless subjection. Professor Paul Miliukoff and other liberals denounced that policy in the Duma, and the Cadet party passed resolutions favoring a large measure of Ukrainian cultural autonomy; but all expressions of the sort were without effect.

After two and a half years came the collapse of the Czar's government, and with it a wholly new turn in the Ukrainian situation.

The first proclamation of the provisional government set up in March 1917, restored the constitutional rights of Finland, conceded independence to the Poles, and rescinded the civil and religious restrictions that had hitherto been imposed on the various non-Russian nationalities. It made no mention of the Ukraine; for the new authorities, equally with the old, chose to regard it and its people as Russian. But the Ukrainians were in no mood to be thus slighted. Rather, they felt that at last their day of liberation had dawned.

Sending to Petrograd a deputation to request a proclamation of autonomy and the appointment of a special minister for Ukrainian affairs, the leaders brought together at Kiev, on April 19, 1917, a Ukrainian "national congress" for the consideration of a future policy. The meeting was presided over by Professor Michael Hrushèvsky, of the University of Lemberg, a native of the Russian Ukraine, a historian of eminence, and the "little father" of the Ukrainian movement; and it expressed a strong desire for territorial autonomy in a Russian federal republic. An army meeting, held a little later, demanded the formation of separate Ukrainian military units in the rear, and, where possible, at the front.

Neither the demand for political autonomy nor that for military nationalization was met. Prince Lvoff declared that the political question was one to be decided in the name of the whole Russian people when the Constituent Assembly should convene. Kerensky went to Kiev to explain to the Ukrainians that while the problem of regrouping the army might advantageously be considered after the war, it could not be taken up at the present time. The petitioners were disappointed and incensed, and a racial group declared forthwith for complete independence.

THE UKRAINE ASSERTS INDEPENDENCE.

Hrushevsky and other leaders counseled moderation, but the Rada could not be restrained from passing a resolution declaring that the provisional government had "acted against the interests of the Ukrainian people." A few days later it put forth a strongly phrased proclamation announcing that, without separating from Russia, the Ukrainian people proposed to set up a diet, or national assembly, on the basis of "universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage," and to endow this body with power to "issue laws which are to establish permanent order in the Ukraine." The document closed with an expression of purpose "henceforth to regulate our own life."

If not a declaration of independence, this proclamation was at least an indication of a very independent attitude. That it was not mere empty words was evidenced by the immediate organization, by the Rada, of a general secretariat, or council of ministers, to take charge of finance, agriculture, food-supply, and other interests. It was significant that among the ministers was a "secretary for international affairs."

The Petrograd government now took alarm and conceded the Ukrainian position so far as to recognize the general secretariat as the highest administrative organ. On all other matters it was still evasive, preferring

to throw the responsibility of a final decision upon the future all-Russian constituent assembly, in which the Great Russians would vastly outnumber the Ukrainians. Throughout the remaining days of the provisional government the wearisome controversy continued.

In September, a congress of the nationalities of the Russian Republic brought together at Kiev representatives of not only all the leading nationalities, but of such less-known peoples as the Kalmucks and the Crimean Tatars.

"The desire for federation," said Hrushevsky in opening the sessions of this body, "has permeated the masses of the Ukrainian people. The idea of federation will in Russia play the same part as in the United States in saving the country from disunion."

Then came, in November, the breakdown of the provisional government and the rise to power of Trotzky, Lenine, and their Bolshevik supporters. This rather increased than diminished the friction between the Ukrainians and the Petrograd authorities. Under the provisional government the controversy was on constitutional questions, mainly Ukrainian autonomy. Under the Bolshevik regime it was chiefly social. The Bolsheviks cared nothing for constitutional technicalities, but they were bent on forcing a social revolution in the Ukraine and in all parts of Russia, and on superseding nationalism with internationalism. Even the Ukrainian Social Democratic party pronounced the Bolshevik leaders "entirely indifferent to the national, cultural, and political needs of our people."

On November 20 the Rada attempted to cut the ground from under Bolshevik feet by issuing a proclamation transferring the land to the peasants and establishing an eight-hour day and labor control over industry —at the same time announcing the formation of a "Ukrainian National Republic, in federation with the Russian Republic," and fixing its boundaries. Already the Rada had under consideration the draft of a future constitution.

CIVIL WAR AND GERMAN OPPRESSION.

The proclamation further expressed the fervent hope that Ukraine might escape "the abyss of civil war, slaughter, and destruction" into which the Russian lands of the north and center had fallen. But it was not to be. Bolshevik influences penetrated the country, destroyed the unity of the people, sapped the vigor of the "bourgeois" Rada, and ended by bringing on a wretched internecine war which dragged on intermittently throughout the winter.

Meanwhile representatives of the Rada presented themselves in the guise of spokesmen of an independent state at the Brest-Litovsk Conference, and on February 9 signed a treaty of peace with the Central Powers. Peace with the Ukraine, Count Czernin had frankly declared, was far more to be desired than peace with Petrograd. The former power, it was believed, could be drawn upon for practically limitless supplies of foodstuffs and metals, while the latter had "nothing but revolution and anarchy to export."

In point of fact, peace with Petrograd was signed only one month later, stripping from the once proud Empire three hundred thousand square miles of territory, thirty-two per cent. of its entire population, one-third of its railway mileage, three-fourths of its iron production, eight-ninths of its coal production, and other assets untold.

The treaty of peace between the Central Powers and the Ukrainian People's Republic, as the new state was styled, provided for immediate evacuation of occupied territories; establishment of full diplomatic relations; a mutual renunciation of indemnities; Ukrainian boundaries so drawn on the west as to include the province of Kholm—inhabited mainly by Poles and heretofore a part of Russian Poland—without taking in any part of the Ruthenian territory of Austria; and "a reciprocal exchange . . . of the surplus of the most important agricultural and industrial products . . . for the purpose of meeting current requirements."

In view of Germany's eagerness for foodstuffs and materials of war, this last stipulation was of sinister import.

All the world now knows what a German-made peace means. The supposed reconciliation with Russia was but a preliminary to war in new guises—fresh invasions, imperious orderings of purely Russian affairs, the stirring of new dissensions, captures of persons and seizures of property, dismemberments and subjugations without end.

Ukraine's experience was particularly bitter. On the pretext of aiding the "friendly Ukrainian people" in their struggle against the Bolshevik forces, Austro-German troops pushed into the country, occupying cities, confiscating food-products, seizing war stores, and terrorizing the inhabitants. Kiev, Poltava, Kharkov, Odessa, and other strategic places easily fell into the invaders' grasp.

Requests from the Rada that the conquest should be halted called out only a demand that the Ukraine should turn over to Austria and Germany eighty-five per cent. of its grain and all of its sugar except that needed for local consumption. By early summer practically the whole of the unhappy country was in Teutonic hands, and the long arm of Germany's predatory activity was reaching out beyond it to the riches of the Crimea and the Caucasus.

Meanwhile anarchy prevailed. A self-constituted Committee of Ukrainian Safety labored to organize resistance, but with little effect; and at length the Rada was itself broken up by German action. A number of landowners and well-to-do peasants then held a convention at Kiev, set itself up as a permanent body, and proclaimed Skoropadski, one of the Ukrainian generals, hetman, or supreme military chief, of the country.

The new regime was non-socialistic and in many respects autocratic, and the Germans forthwith gave it their support, the more readily since it complacently sanctioned their seizure of the grain which the Rada had promised but had failed to deliver. Peace negotiations were entered upon at Kiev, in May, between this revolutionary government and the Bolshevik authorities of Russia. In June it was announced that a "truce" had been signed, and that the delegates would proceed to consider a permanent agreement. But the future of the Ukraine, as indeed that of all Russia, still lies in the lap of the gods, and no mortal can predict the trend of events with any sort of certainty.

The United States, however, stands pledged, through the words of President Wilson, to contribute to the eventual solution of the problem to the extent of procuring, with the aid of our cobelligerents, first, the evacuation of all Russian territory by the German forces, and an "unhampered and unembarrassed" opportunity for the Russians to determine independently "their own political development and national policy"; and, second, the "freest opportunity of autonomous development" for the peoples of Austria-Hungary.

THE UKRAINE, PAST AND PRESENT

By NEVIN O. WINTER

(From the *National Geographic Magazine*, August, 1918)

The revolution in Russia has demonstrated to the world one fact long recognized by students of Russian affairs. It is that in the old Russian Empire there was little sense of nationalism or cohesiveness. While the racial homogeneity of the Slavs, the preponderant element of the population, has always been most pronounced, the term Russia meant little to the vast majority of the people. There was nothing that could compare with the love of the Anglo-American for the Stars and Stripes, of the Frenchman for his beloved France, of the Anglo-Saxon for Great Britain.

With the passing of the Czar and the authority of the church the only forces of cohesion disappeared. Were it otherwise, it would not be possible for so many separations of large sections to follow without an apparent pang on the part of those still left or those going out for themselves.

It was but natural that Finland should revolt, for the Finns are not even Slavs. But in the case of Little Russia, or the Ukraine, there is a story that is worth the telling.

What is the Ukraine? This is one of the many questions that people are asking today. The Poles and the Lithuanians of a few centuries ago knew well this most turbulent section over which they attempted to rule, and Imperial Russia for a long time was greatly troubled by this very unruly part of her expansive domain. The Tatars and the Turks felt its proximity because of the many raids made upon them by the wild warriors of the steppes.

In recent years the Ukraine has quieted down, so that the casual students of today hardly realized that there was such a distinctive section left, living in the belief that the Slavs of the Ukraine, or Little Russia, as it is better known, had become thoroughly amalgamated with the Great Russians of the Petrograd and Moscow sections. The events of the last few months, however, have revealed the real situation.

The Ukraine has had a troublesome career. The wild Scythians helped to feed ancient Greece and her colonies from these same endless steppes whence Germany now expects to draw sustenance. A thousand years ago Kiev was already becoming an important place. When the Saxons still ruled England, in the long ago, the banks of the Dnieper were a meeting-place for many races, drawn thither by commerce. Religious differences had not yet arisen for all were worshippers of idols. Even then a Slav people were safely established here, sowing and reaping their harvests and sending their surplus grain down this river to the Black Sea.

The name Ukraine means "border-marches." For centuries it was the bulwark that protected Poland and Lithuania from the Tatars, Turks, and other migrating Orientals. As a result it has had cruel taskmasters.

The native population was largely Cossacks—a wild and unruly people at that time. They were not originally a tribe, but were men who went forth into the wilderness to find freedom. The vast steppes, covered with grass to the height of a horse, within which a multitude of game lurked, lured them on.

frequently purchase land, sometimes even dispensing with the aid of the Land Bank. In many districts, where they are settled, they are slowly breaking up the large estates. Some own many hundreds of acres. The German economist, Prof. Schulze-Gaevernitz, in his studies of the Black Earth Zone (*Volkswirtschaftliche Studien aus Russland*, Leipzig, 1899) describes a visit to one of these Cossacks in Kobelyaki, who owned nearly 3,000 acres. This man had just purchased an estate, with the chateau of the former owner thrown in; and Schulze-Gaevernitz found he had converted the parquet of the drawing-room into a threshing-floor!

There is no doubt that the Cossacks have led the opposition to the introduction or restoration of communal ownership, which culminated in the *coup d'etat* of May, 1918. That the bulk of the peasants relish their lead is however far from probable; for the Cossacks have not a reputation as philanthropists.

'We know you Cossacks,' the poorer peasants say; 'you are all fist. You 'grow richer, while your neighbors grow poorer. Why did all the souls of 'Petrovka village, save three, emigrate last year to Siberia? Because the 'Cossacks had bought up their allotments. We grow bread for our children 'to eat; but the Cossacks sell corn to the Jews in Odessa....'

And so on. Such things were no doubt said a hundred times over on the Land Committees formed under the short-lived *Universale*. But this time the Cossacks could reply:

'There is land enough for all now, brother: why not take it, and do 'the same?'

This *argumentum ad hominem* seems to have been effective; though doubtless its success would not have been so dramatic or immediate, but for the German desire to materialize some of the fruits of the famous Bread Peace. But, with or without the German occupation, and whether the *latifundia* are appropriated *en bloc* or broken up gradually, it seems certain that the Cossack party, that is to say the Cossacks themselves and all the richer peasants, hold the economic future in Ukraine. They represent the process of transition from primitive to modern agriculture. The process began long ago, and was inevitable with the growth of the population and the passing of the steppe. It was immensely accelerated by the Stolypin reforms. Even a strong Government, such as the Rada was not, could do little to arrest or deflect it. Great Russia is perhaps capable of sacrificing economic progress to a social ideal; for the Great Russians are of those peoples who have faith, and with them all things are possible. But the Ukraine is not Great Russia; and no speculations as to the future can be of value which do not take this fundamental consideration into account.

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THE UKRAINE, A NEW NATION

IF IT MAINTAINS ITS INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE, IT WILL TAKE RANK AS ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT STATES OF EUROPE.

By FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG
Professor of Political Science in the University of Wisconsin.

(From *Munsey's Magazine*, October, 1918)

The largest and richest of the half-dozen vassal states which German diplomacy has lately carved out of storm-racked Russia; a land without which any future Russian nation would be but a shadow of its former self, and for which the Kaiser could afford to give up several Alsace-Lorraines; the home, indeed, of the sixth most numerous race in Europe—that is Ukraine, a country of which probably not one American in fifty had so much as heard up to a year and a half ago. It is said that a lady of much intelligence, on early mention of the place, took it to be the locale of a Viennese comic opera.

For a certain indefiniteness of ideas on the subject there has been fair excuse. Until 1917, one would have searched the political maps in vain for the name. Until then the Ukraine was indeed "a very vast, very fertile, and very beautiful country that did not exist."

There was no Ukraine; but there were more than thirty-three million Ukrainians—one of the great submerged nationalities of Europe, equally with the Poles, the Czechs, and the Jews. They had a distinct ethnic character, an illustrious history, a brilliant literature, and an ineradicable longing for political unity and autonomy. But their country, whose very name —meaning "border-land"—was ominous, had long been divided up between two great and unsympathetic empires.

They were themselves called by a dozen different terms—Ukrainians, South Russians, Little Russians, Ruthenians, Galicians, and what not. Until the Russian revolution of 1917 cut the cords that bound the subjugated peoples of the old Muscovite Empire, their hope of realizing their age-long dreams was slender.

Of the thirty-three million Ukrainians in Europe in 1914, twenty-eight millions dwelt in Russia, and were commonly known as Malorossi, or Little Russians. About five millions lived in Austria-Hungary—three and one-half millions in Galicia, one million in Hungarian districts west of the Carpathians, and a half-million in Bukovina. In Serbia there were two millions, in the United States four hundred thousand, in Canada half as many, in South America one hundred thousand, and elsewhere throughout the world enough to make up a grand total of thirty-six millions, equal to one-third of the whole population of the United States.

Leaving out of account large districts in which Ukrainians are numerous, but not preponderant, the region occupied by this mighty people extends unbroken from Central Galicia to beyond the Sea of Azov, and from the latitude of the River Pripet to the Black Sea. It has an area of three

The people are handsomer than the Great Russians. Better nourishment probably has something to do with this, or the natural distinction between a northern and southern people, but the admixture with other races has also left its trace. They are, in general, taller and more robust.

The natural brightness and vivacity of the Slav temperament, which one will also find exemplified in the Pole, has not been dimmed by the infusion of the more stolid and melancholic Finnish blood, as is the case with the Great Russian. They have a buoyancy of temperament which leads to a light-hearted gaiety of spirits, such as one does not find among the Muscovites.

THE HOME OF RUSSIAN FOLK-LORE.

In so far as outside influences have affected the Slav temperament in the Ukraine, it has been that of the Greek and the Tatar. The warm and bright colors of their costumes are somewhat reminiscent of the Orient. They are great lovers of beads, of which they will wear many strings, and the national costume of the women includes a wreath of flowers worn on the head.

A vein of romance and poetry runs through the Little Russians. It may not be very deep, but it is wide-spread. It is the home of Russian folk-lore. Lyrical ballad and improvised ballad still spring almost spontaneously from the lips of the peasants. Their nature is rather poetical and they are very musical. The love songs of Little Russia are distinguished by their great tenderness. They have songs for all occasions, sacred and profane. They are also great lovers of flowers.

BRILLIANT COLORS MAKE NATIVE COSTUMES A DELIGHT TO THE EYE.

The lover of peasant costumes will be in his glory here in the Ukraine. Nowhere in Russia is there so much color in costumes as here, and the general effect is extremely pleasing. The market in Kiev or Kharkov is a study in color.

Red is the prevailing color among the women, but there are many other bright bits. The costume is also extremely artistic. The red turbans of the women have embroidered borders and their skirts also have a border which reaches almost to the knee. The women generally wear their skirts rather short, scarcely reaching to the ankles—a style becoming more and more popular the world over today. The blouses are made out of pretty patterns, with unique and original designs worked into the material. Even the heavy coats, which they wear for warmth, have their own design, and all will follow practically the same pattern.

Even the men have their little vanity, having their shirts embroidered in red and blue designs, and the young men have quite a dandified look.

GO BAREFOOT TO SAVE THEIR BOOTS.

Both sexes wear coarse boots, many of them being made of plaited leather, if they are able to purchase them. In summer many will come to the city barefooted, for in that way they save their boots; and leather boots, even in peace times, cost many rubles. In war times they are beyond the reach of the ordinary peasant.

On festive occasions many of the young women are wonderful to behold. They don highly colored dresses and have long bright pink, blue, and red ribbons tied in their hair, which stream behind them as they walk. Oftentimes they wear garlands of real or artificial flowers. Several strings of large and small coral or glass beads complete this pretty outfit; and many of the maidens, with their gypsy-like complexions, look very charming when attired in this manner.

These people have a great love for vivid colors in everything and even decorate their rooms with striped or checked red and white towels. The icon (holy image) shelf is sure to be decorated with these fancy towels and paper flowers. A guest of honor would be given a seat under this little domestic shrine.

KHARKOV, THE SECOND CITY.

Kharkov is the second city of the Ukraine and is almost two-thirds the size of Kiev. Its long, broad, and dusty streets, rather roughly paved, are flanked by houses of nondescript architecture. They are usually two stories high and in colors red, yellow, blue, and magenta stucco predominate.

Huge signboards prevail everywhere in the business section on the stores with samples of the goods sold therein painted upon them. The peasant who cannot read can understand the pictures at least.

The glittering domes of a number of large, flamboyant Orthodox churches give a semi-oriental general effect.

Kharkov's importance is due to the fact that it is the center of a large agricultural district, one of the most fertile sections in all Russia.

There is a very large bazaar here, which draws thousands of visitors on several occasions during the year. It is a great distributing center for agricultural supplies and also quite an educational center, with one of the greatest universities in all Russia.

ODESSA, CATHERINE THE GREAT'S CREATION.

By the new alignment Odessa and the province of Kherson have been added to the Ukrainian Republic. This city of half a million is one of the newest cities in Europe. While Moscow can boast of a thousand years of history, Odessa is only a little over a hundred years of age. Its rapid growth will compare with the cities of the new world. It dates from 1794 and it owes its existence to Catherine the Great. Just a few years before that this territory had been ceded to Russia by Turkey. Her purpose was to establish a strong city as near to Constantinople as possible. A magnificent statue of the empress, representing her as trampling the Turkish flag scornfully beneath her feet, now adorns one square.

Odessa is not a typical Russian city. Mark Twain said that the only thing truly Russian about it was the shape of the droshkis and the dress of the drivers. One might add the gilded domes of a few churches. It is an attractive city in many ways and it has the reputation of being a very fast city. It has been in recent years a very important post.

The business of the city is largely in the hands of the Jews, who comprise a third of the population. There has not been the best of feeling toward them by the Orthodox population and a terrible massacre occurred in 1905. It has always been a stirring revolutionary center and has caused the imperial government much trouble in the past quarter of a century.

KIEV, THE HOLY CITY OF THE UKRAINE.

Kiev is the holy city of the Ukraine and hundreds of thousands of pilgrims visit it each year. The natural landscape is heightened at all times in its pictorial effect by the picturesque groups of pilgrims, staves in hands and wallets on backs, who may be seen clambering up the hills, resting under the shadow of a hill, or reverently bowing the head at the sound of a convent bell.

Here is the story as it is recently related by Russian chroniclers. A thousand years ago, or thereabouts, a very holy monk, named Anthony, came to Kiev and dug a cell for himself in the hill. The devout life of this monk soon drew other holy men around him, and all at first made their homes in the caves. It is said that many of the early monks never again emerged into daylight after they once entered the caves. Some shut themselves up in niches and remained self-immured the rest of their days, living on the food placed there each day by their brothers. When the food remained untouched, the monks knew that a saintly spirit had fled. The place was then walled in, and the niche remained the monk's home after as well as before his dissolution.

KIEV'S GHASTLY CATACOMBS.

The catacombs are indeed ghastly to visit, for there are rows upon rows of skulls in them. Access is had by narrow steps, and then through labyrinthine subterranean passages one descends deeper and deeper into the bowels of the earth, winding hither and thither along a pathway. Finally

there begins a series of niches, in which repose the bodies of the saintly recluses.

The pilgrims pass each holy tomb, reverently kissing the shriveled hands laid out by the monks for that purpose. They do not distinguish between the holy and the holier, but pay a tribute to each one impartially in order to conciliate all.

Much contagion must be spread by this insanitary method of homage. No doubt many an infection, and possibly even a great pestilence, could be traced directly to this spot, where the indiscriminate osculation of church relics is observed.

ICON RECEIVES 100,000 KISSES A YEAR.

The Cave Monastery, or Pecherska Lavra, is a large stone structure on the hill, at a little distance from the city, and is surrounded by a high stone wall. It is entered through a holy gate. Each monk has his own apartment, with a little garden attached. Several hundred monks live in the monastery and a number of lay brethren are also allowed to dwell there.

In the principal church is preserved a miracle-working icon, known as the Death of Our Lady. It was brought from Constantinople and has received no fewer than a hundred thousand kisses a year. It is painted on cypress wood, now black with age. Every line of the picture is marked by precious stones and each head has a halo of brilliants, while an enormous diamond glitters above the head of Christ.

The wealth of the Lavra at Kiev is enormous. Each successive Czar has visited it not infrequently and always gave a large donation.

What the attitude of the new leaders of the Ukraine toward this monastery will be remains to be seen. The revolutionary movement as a whole has been anti-clerical and shows a revolt against the former influence of the church in Russia.

The monks do not live the ascetic lives of their ancestors, although the food still seems plain. Coarse bread is always served, fish frequently, but meat and wine are not unseldom. One monk always reads from the lives of saints while the others eat. The monks seat themselves on benches and they eat off pewter platters. There is an inn at which many stop who can pay, but the fare is too plain for most people. Then there is also a free lodging quarter, where the poorer ones can stop without charge. Sour black bread and boiled buckwheat groats are about the only food provided for this class of pilgrims.

PILGRIMS SHARE THEIR FLEAS WITH ALL.

Many peasants will travel on foot for days and spend almost their last kopeck for the sake of visiting this sacred monastery in the holy city of Kiev. Sienkiewicz makes one of his principal characters say when faced with danger: "I shall die and all my fleas with me." These pilgrims certainly bring theirs with them to Kiev and share them freely with any one with whom they come in contact.

It would be difficult to find a larger or more varied collection of professional or casual mendicants anywhere than congregate here at Kiev during the pilgrimage period. Dressed in rags and wretchedness, these mendicants expose revolting sores and horrible deformities in order to excite sympathy. Some appear to enjoy vested rights in particular locations. Many might be classed as pious beggars and have an almost apostolic appearance, with their long beards and quiet bearing. All of them may be worthy objects of charity, but the Russian beggars are most importunate.

RUSSIAN PEASANTS EXTREMELY CHARITABLE.

The Russians themselves are very charitable toward the unfortunate class. Poor peasants, themselves clothed in rags, will share their little with those poorer than themselves.

A foreigner, knowing the poverty of the people and the inadequacy of public relief, cannot but feel kindly disposed toward those who are really helpless. Here, as elsewhere, however, it is difficult to distinguish between the unworthy and the deserving.

THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF THE UKRAINA

The Ukraina, whose political status and boundaries are still to be definitely fixed, corresponds roughly to the three districts in the southern part of Russia known as "Little Russia," the "Southwestern Territory," and "New Russia" (exclusive of the Territory of the Don Cossacks), divided into the following governments:* Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Kherson, Taurida, Katerinoslav, and Bessarabia. It occupies the southwestern corner of European Russia, and is bounded by Austria-Hungary and Poland on the west, the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov on the south, the Territory of the Don Cossacks on the east, and Central Russia and Lithuania on the north. Its area of 330,400 square miles is somewhat less than 15 per cent. of the area of European Russia, including Finland, and its population, estimated at the beginning of 1914 at about 30,000,000, is slightly more than 20 per cent. of that of European Russia, including Finland. No recent figures are available regarding the classification of the population according to nationalities, but on the basis of the last census, which was taken in 1897, the Little Russians constituted about three-fourths, the remaining population consisting mainly of other Russians, Poles, Jews, Roumanians, Germans, and Tartars. The Roumanians formed about 50 per cent. of the population of Bessarabia, the Jews about 13 per cent. of the population in the governments of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia, while the Tartars predominated in the southern part of the Crimea, which belongs to the government of Taurida. Among the principal cities may be mentioned Odessa (estimated population, 620,000), Kiev (594,000), Kharkov (248,000), Katerinoslav (218,000), Kishinev (125,000), and Nikolayev (103,000).

Agricultural Conditions.

A considerable part of the Ukraina belongs to the "black-soil" region of Russia, which yields large quantities of grain, particularly wheat, for export. Agriculture is the chief occupation, wheat being the principal grain raised. In Bessarabia corn is an important crop, while large quantities of sugar beets are raised in the governments of Kiev and Podolia. Owing to the higher fertility of the soil and the presence of extensive industries utilizing agricultural products, like the beet-sugar industry and the development of the export trade in grain, the agricultural methods in the Ukraina are on the whole of a more progressive character than those prevailing in the northern part of Russia. While most of the land is split up into numerous peasant holdings, there are many large estates on which agriculture is carried on according to most intensive methods, especially in the sugar-beet region of the governments of Kiev, Podolia, and Volhynia, where many of the estates are owned and managed by Poles. In Little Russia enormous quantities of hay are raised, the area under grass being

* A government is an administrative unit corresponding to the French department.

estimated at over 3,500,000 acres, and some of the hay being exported abroad. The Ukraina is responsible to a considerable extent for the large Russian exports of wheat, one of the principal export products of that country, and also contributes the larger share of the sugar-beet supply on which the extensive Russian sugar industry is based.

Industrial Conditions.

Within the boundaries of the Ukraina are found the principal available deposits of iron ore in Russia. The development of the iron-ore deposits of the Krivoi Rog district has been mainly responsible for the rapid growth of the Russian iron and steel industry, which now depends to an extent of about 70 per cent. on the iron ore in the southern part of the country. In 1913 the total output of iron ore in the two districts of Krivoi Rog and Kerch amounted to more than 7,000,000 tons, of which the latter contributed about 500,000 tons. The chief iron-ore deposits of the Ukraina are found in the western part of the government of Katerinoslav and the eastern part of Kherson, in what is known as the Krivoi Rog district, situated at a distance of from 200 to 250 miles from the rich coal deposits of the Donetz Basin, where good coking coal and anthracite are mined in large quantities. As a result of this comparative proximity of the Donetz coal fields, the southern iron and steel industry has far out-distanced the older iron industry in the Ural region, where a lack of coal and an abundance of forests make charcoal the only available fuel. In addition to the Krivoi Rog deposits, a good grade of iron ore is also mined in the Kerch district, in the Crimea, which, on account of the favorable location of the mines in regard to transportation by water, is exported to a considerable extent, while the Krivoi Rog ore is consumed almost entirely by the local furnaces. Mention should also be made of the deposits at Korsak-Moghila, near Berdiansk, in the government of Taurida, which are situated more advantageously in relation to the coal supply.

The iron-ore deposits in the Donetz Basin are also utilized to some extent in combination with the richer Krivoi Rog ore. The iron and steel mills are located in proximity to the principal iron-ore deposits, but there are also some in the Donetz Basin in the Don Territory, so that either iron ore or fuel has to be transported for a considerable distance. The first successful mill established by Hughes in 1872 was located in the Donetz Basin, but the industry has developed largely in the Krivoi Rog district, and the extensive works of the New Russian Co. are located at Yuzovka (named for Hughes), in the eastern part of the government of Katerinoslav, adjoining the Don Territory. In 1913 there were in operation in the whole southern territory of Russia 14 iron and steel mills, employing about 58,000 men, with an output of about 3,500,000 tons of pig iron, or two-thirds of the total production of Russia. The iron and steel industry of Southern Russia depends to a predominating extent on foreign capital, mostly Belgian and French, and is decidedly a large-scale industry, with an output that had been running for some years prior to the outbreak of the war beyond the consuming capacity of the country. The chief products of the southern mills are semimanufactures, rails, structural iron, sheets and plates, and wire, which are marketed largely through the central selling syndicate "Prodameta."

In addition to its iron-ore deposits, the Ukraina contains deposits of other valuable minerals, like manganese and graphite. The manganese deposits are found in the Katerinoslav district, where about 280,000 tons of manganese ore were mined in 1913, of which about 37 per cent. was exported. Graphite was obtained in the vicinity of Mariupol, in the southern part of the government of Katerinoslav, to an extent of 2,000 tons of ore.

The beet-sugar industry is another important Russian industry in which the Ukraina occupies the first place. In 1913-14, out of a total Russian production of about 1,600,0000 tons of sugar the Ukraina contributed about 60 per cent. The sugar refineries are located mostly in the governments of Kiev, Podolia, and Kharkov, and the city of Kiev is the center of the Russian sugar trade, as well as of the trade in supplies for the sugar in-

dustry. The transactions on the Kiev sugar exchange during the year 1912-13 amounted to more than 90,000,000 rubles, or $45,000,000 at the normal rate of exchange.

Among other industries of the Ukraina may be mentioned distilling, flour milling, tobacco manufacturing, and tanning.

Commerce and Transportation.

As a large producer of wheat, one of the most important export products of Russia, the Ukraina enjoys a large foreign trade, while its dominating position in the iron and steel and sugar industries makes it an important factor in the domestic trade. The wheat for export purposes is handled largely through southern ports, like Odessa and Nikolayev, or is sent by rail to the Baltic Provinces or to Koenigsberg, in Prussia. It should be pointed out in connection with the Russian grain trade that the elevator facilities are very limited, and that, with the exception of those in Petrograd, Odessa, Nikolayev, and Riga, the elevators are generally of small capacity. It is also worth noting that the Russian elevators do not, as a rule, perform the functions in connection with grading of grain that are associated with the elevator system in the grain trade of the United States. The beet sugar and the iron and steel products originating in the Ukraina are intended almost entirely for domestic consumption, and cities like Kiev and Kharkov are important centers in the trade in the above products, as well as in supplies for the manufacturing and agricultural industries of the Ukraina. The foreign trade of Odessa in 1913 amounted to more than $75,000,000, and that of Kherson and Nikolayev exceeded $55,000,000, almost entirely made up of exports. Odessa is the most important port on the Black Sea and has five harbors and considerable equipment for handling cargoes.

The railway lines of the Ukraina had a length of about 8,200 miles in 1913, or about 23 per cent. of the total mileage of European Russia, exclusive of Finland. As the Ukraina occupies less than 15 per cent. of the area of European Russia, its railway mileage is comparatively high, a fact that may be attributed mainly to the favorable conditions for the development of the iron and steel industry and the demands of the export trade in wheat.

(From the *Commerce Reports*, Washington, D. C.)

A UKRAINIAN ADDRESS IN THE FORMER AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT

DELIVERED BY REPRESENTATIVE VITTIK DURING THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA ON THE 7th OF MARCH, 1918

What hurts us Ukrainians most is the fact that we have been reproached 1) with helping to obstruct the Revolution, 2) with contributing to a victory of German militarism, and 3) with making use of secret diplomacy. As a son of the Ukrainian people I am constrained to enter into a most minute inquiry of these reproaches. I ask: Did the Ukrainians have sufficient power to fight against militarism? This reproach, therefore, has no foundation. No people in the east, no people in Austria, not even the masses of Germany were able to prevent a victory of military might. Why, then, attach blame to the Ukrainians and reproach them on this ground?

And now I recall several interesting facts. It is generally known that it was a large force of Ukrainian troops that helped to dethrone the Czar. A Ukrainian Republic arose. It gave its support to all the efforts of the Revolution. Everyone must admit that from a national and social point of view the Ukrainian Central Rada managed the Ukrainian Republic very well indeed. Every people was given full rights—Poles, Jews, Muscovites, and even Bohemian colonists enjoyed full equality of rights in accordance with the principle of personal autonomy. The Poles, Jews, and Muscovites had their own representations and their own commissaries or ministers. Ukraine even renounced her claims to the Rumanian parts of Bessarabia, because she does not desire any territory that does not belong to her. (Cries of assent). As the first revolutionary government, Ukraine was—and all have admitted this fact—beyond reproach. At first Ukraine supported the Bolsheviki. It might interest you to know—and this has been hanging over our people like a nightmare for centuries—it was the Polish landowners who caused the first dispute between the Rada and the Bolsheviki. The Bolsheviki accused the Rada of extreme leniency in the process of expropriating the large estate owners, who were mostly Poles. Hence they endeavored to get the Ukrainian government into their own hands. Thus from one quarter the Polish press was pelting the Ukrainian Rada with rebukes and reproaching it with banditism; while from another side the Bolsheviki were arraying all their forces against the Rada. Then came the peace conference at Brest-Litovsk. Trotzky invited all the people to take part in the peace negotiations. Unfortunately he entered into conference with official diplomacy and German militarism. The Ukrainians also appeared at these negotiations. Since, as was obvious, the Russian military machine was collapsing, the Muscovite and Ukrainian delegates could not offer any opposition to the Central Powers.

As for secret diplomacy! Why here in the Parliament and in the delegations, the representatives of the Slavs, among them the Ukrainian representatives, vainly urged that all peoples should take part in the peace

negotiations. The majority silenced this exhortation with their votes, and foremost in this majority were the Poles. (Hear! Hear!) Bah! even when Count Czernin returned from Brest-Litovsk for the first time, he openly declared that he would conclude peace with Ukraine, and that he would do this with the help of secret diplomacy. The Poles assented to the Count's declaration, and Dr. Dashinski, a delegate, addressed Czernin with such words: "Set out on this thorny road, Your Excellency, and without looking either to the right or to the left, fetch us peace and bread; then Your Excellency will be acclaimed an equal of the foremost politicians." *But only a week later we heard a different tune here.* (One week later Dr. Dashinski told a very different story.) *That secret diplomacy was commendable to the Poles just as long as it had reference to the seizure of Ukrainian territories and to the subjection of the Ukrainian people in Galicia, Kholm, Volhynia, and Polissye.*

The Polish pilgrims then went to Berlin and Vienna. Here in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were assembled all the representatives of the Polish and other presses, and the Polish Kingdom was proclaimed officially and unofficially. Secret diplomacy was employed; all the Poles conducted their politics against the Ukrainian people secretly, not giving the Ukrainians even the slightest attention. And now when the Polish Pans complain—it is only the outcome of their own diplomacy. (Hear!)

He is mistaken, however, who thinks that the strings of this secret diplomacy have already been cut. On the contrary they are being spun further. Count Goluchowski, the first notorious secret diplomat, is spinning them. When at this point I am asked in what way Count Goluchowski profited by secret diplomacy, I recall the customs war with Serbia. He brought about the passage of custom laws injurious to the welfare of Serbia, and thereby precipitated that war, which he conducted together with Hungarian barons and landowners. It was Count Goluchowski, Count Pininski, Duke Radziwill, and even Count Tarnowski and other gentlemen from Berlin who took a trip into Hungary to visit the Hungarian landowners, Count Andrassy, Count Vekerle, and others with the sole purpose of getting strength to retain their hegemony, which they see they are losing. For them everything is not yet lost. As we notice in to-day's newspapers, they cherish hopes of saving the Polish estates in Ukraine. But I must take the liberty of warning them: *Keep your hands off the Ukrainian Republic! The Ukrainian people will never part with what it has won with such great difficulty.* (Applause). We were and will remain the opponents of secret politics. It would be much more agreeable to us if this peace were concluded in the presence of all peoples. Then no charges could be made that unauthorized parties took part in the peace negotiations. Unfortunately the majority, and that is the Poles, prevented the realization of this wish. Why, then, do they now upbraid the Ukrainians with using secret diplomacy. Trotzky expected a revolution to break out in the east at his summons. But his expectation was in vain. At present we hear that the Ukrainians are accused of concluding peace with militarism.

Coming now to the conclusion of peace, I must mention the fact that a peace treaty is a contract that is binding upon all parties concerned. I shall say that if the second party, the Germans, think that we should not criticize the peace treaty, they are mistaken. This treaty has placed heavy burdens upon us. Several times have I demanded that all Ukrainian territories, and therefore the Ukrainian lands in Galicia, the Ukrainian parts of Bukovina, and the Ukrainian districts of Hungary, be united with Ukraine, the motherland. Since this union has not been effected, and since Austria has forcibly kept us from getting liberty, it will be Austria's sacred duty to furnish us with a suitable abode.

And now let us view this question from an economic standpoint The President of the Austrian Ministry and the German State Secretary Bushe declared that the whole treaty would be ignored if Ukraine failed to meet her economic obligations. It is no small task to deliver 30,000 carloads of wheat, 12,000 carloads of sugar, 2,000 carloads of meat, and 1,000 carloads of dried fruit. You gentlemen should consider how great a burden bears

down upon Ukraine, and yet this Republic is threatened that the peace agreement will be ignored if the obligations are not discharged. When all other states withdrew their diplomats from Kiev, the Central Powers, having entered there, should take care not to conduct themselves with the people as they did in Galicia, because Ukraine is loaded with heavy burdens and obligations. Let the Central Powers stand by their agreement, which stipulated that Ukraine was to deliver the above foodstuffs itself; then Ukraine will not be reproached with necessitating a requisition. We strongly advise against requisitioning in Ukraine. Gentlemen, we are not the authors of certain startling telegrams which appeared in the newspapers without the endorsement of the Ukrainian Government. Ukraine cannot be reproached with defying German militarism through these telegrams. We regard Ukraine as a neutral and sovereign State, and as such the Central Powers must also regard it.

Now let us consider the question concerning the boundaries of Ukraine. By the treaty of Brest-Litovsk Kholm was conceded to Ukraine; the limits of this district were to be determined by a mixed commission. The greatest indignation arose among the Poles on account of this Kholm territory. We shall adhere to the elucidation of this Kholm controversy by Polish authors—by the famous publicist Leo Vasilewski, a member of the central national committee, and Leo Plochotski.

On page 3 of his *Kholm and Its Separation*, Leo Plochotski writes:

"The land of Kholm played an important role during the time of independent Ukraine; this is evident from the fact that Roman Mstislavich, ruling in Kholm, accepted in 1201 the title of sovereign over all the Ukrainian duchies—he even had authority over the Grand Duchy of Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian State at that time. After the death of Roman Mstislavich, the State broke up into many parts; hence the reason why the Kholm district was unable to maintain its independence. The same fate that befell the whole Duchy of Halich, befell Ukrainian Kholm; it was annexed by Poland in a comparatively short time between 1340 and 1380. The final union of the Kholm lands with Poland was consummated in 1377."

In the introduction of a pamphlet which he published in 1916, Leo Vasilewski rejoices over the entrance of the allied arms into Kholm. On page 9 of the pamphlet, he writes:

"In the 16th century the country of Kholm was joined to the Ukrainian Palatinate belonging to the Polish Republic; this Kholm territory formed one of the five constituent parts of the Ukrainian Palatinate."

Hence Vasilewski himself admits that Kholm is Ukrainian territory.

On page 10 of the same pamphlet we read:

"A lasting, mutual union of Polish and Ukrainian elements has existed since the time when the Union of Churches facilitated the reciprocal influence of Poles and Ukrainians through intermarriage and through the gradual elimination of differences between the Roman Catholic and Uniat Churches."

Later we read:

"The Uniat clergy became Polonized. An appreciable part of the mixed population and all of the landowning class professed allegiance to the Polish nation. Only the peasant masses of Uniats remained Ukrainians."

Farther on he writes:

"Czar Peter, immediately after his transgression of the Polish frontiers, within which, as is well known, were Ukrainian lands, gave sanguinary evidence of his hatred for the Uniats. Once when drunk, he forced his way into the church of the Basilians in Polotsku, and while the imperial guard was murdering a priest, he cut off the nose and lips of a monk with his sabre."

Now I ask you, gentlemen of Poland, who are the Basilian monks? As is well known, the Basilian monks in Galicia were Ukrainians. This fact, given by Leo Vasilewski, proves that Kholm is Ukrainian.

On page 12 Vasilewski writes:

"The sufferings of the Basilians in Minsk at the hands of stern Russian officers gave rise to an outcry of horror throughout the civilized world. These Basilians were exiled to Vitebsk, where they were subjected to the most frightful tortures. And now for the names of the Basilian martyrs: Kaliksta Babyansky, dashed to death against a wall; Anitseta Brochotsky, crippled; Onufria Hlubotsky, clubbed to death; Yosaphata Groshovsky, dashed to death against a wall; Nepomutsina Groshkovsky, killed with a club by an orthodox woman; Euphemia Guznisky, buried alive; Basiline Holinsky, clubbed to death; Alexandra Peksor, eyes put out; Justine Turiv, flogged to death; and Prakside Zaydivsky, eyes put out."

These names are furnished by Vasilewski himself. Everyone who is familiar with Slavic nomenclature must admit that these are Ukrainian names.

On page 21 we read:

"In Drelevi, Captain Andreyev, a staff officer, forbade those peasants who would not embrace Orthodoxy to feed and water their cattle. After being confined in their stalls for over eight days, the cattle perished.

"Mayor Kostov ordered all peasants who should assemble about a Greek-Catholic church to be whipped. While the peasants were singing church hymns, they were beaten with the butts of muskets, hacked with bayonets, and shot down. Among those shot down were: Paul Kozak, Theodore Buzyok, Simeon Pavluk, Trochim and Andrey Kharatonyuk, Humphrey Tomashuk, and Ivan Lutsuk."

Are these names by any chance Polish names? They are without exception the names of Ukrainian peasants.

On page 22, Vasilewski writes:

"When the people of Patulin opposed the ordination of a priest, whom they would not admit into the church, the military interfered; there were 13 killed and 30 wounded. Among the fallen were Luke and Constantine Boyko, Daniel Karmashchuk, Bartholomew Osipyuk, Hrintsyuk, Humphrey Vasilyuk, Hnat Franchuk, Ivan Andryuk, Michael Vavrishko, and Constantine Lukashchuk."

And here also we find only Ukrainian names.

"In the parish of Prokhenka, those who would not be converted to Orthodoxy were kept out in the cold with their faces against the wind every day for a period of three weeks. Half-dead, the victims were then flogged. Even children were not spared. The following died under the lash: Ivan Antonyuk, Josaphat Hritsyuk, Paul Yusimchuk, and Levchukova and 16 year old Paul Ihnatyuk."

All Ukrainian names!

The names of the parishes: Rudno, Chekaliv, Rohiv, Khoroshchinyuk, Dovhe Volhynia, Radin, Russka Volya, where many Ukrainians died for their people and faith, indicate that these are all Ukrainian places.

The fact that the Muscovites persecuted the Catholics in Kholm but not in Russian Poland is perfectly logical and comprehensible; the reason is that Kholm was inhabited by the Ukrainians who belonged to the Greek-Catholic or Uniat Church. The Muscovites would say to the Ukrainians, "You are a 'Russian' and should therefore be an Orthodox." They persecuted and tormented the people of Kholm. It is in vain, therefore, that Polish publicists deny the fact that Kholm is Ukrainian territory.

We shall wait for further opinions upon this question. We Galicians cannot be silent, for the maltreatment of Ukrainians remains just as it was before.

Gentlemen! We have long outgrown the time when we kept silence while our skin was being bargained for. (Assent). But we will not permit this bargaining to continue undisturbed. We wish for every people liberty and the power of ruling themselves as they see fit, but we wish to be masters in our own land. (Applause.)

Now it is said, as we heard it in the declaration of Baron Goetz, for instance, that the Poles wish us a most brilliant development. But how does this magnanimity appear in practice? *In Lviv, the capital of Ukrainian Galicia, the Polish city officials forbid the Ukrainian representatives to speak in the Ukrainian language.* (Hear! Hear!). It happened in 1875 in Russia that the Ukrainians were forbidden to use the Ukrainian language; but this same intolerance is being repeated in the free city of Lviv to-day. On the 2nd of March, 1918, a Ukrainian speaker had to leave the chamber of the city hall, because the president forbade him the use of the Ukrainian language. Is this the road to an understanding? Is this that tolerance of the Polish Pans of which the Poles are now boasting so much, while they whine about the injuries done them? Who has been wronged here? Is it he who forbids one the use of one's native tongue, or he to whom this natural right is denied?

Gentlemen! Nothing has changed in Galicia. Just look at the composition of the Galician representation in this House. Four million Poles in Galicia have 78 representatives in this Parliament; while four million Ukrainians have only 27 representatives in the same House. Is this that most democratic Parliament of which so much is said? The Poles are accustomed to having everything granted to them; they were given many seats in the Parliament at our expense.

The same sufferings and the same wrongs still prevail in Galicia; the same evil underlies the central Government's plan for the reconstruction of Galicia. Governor Huyn was very generous to everyone but he does not do what he promised.

Gentlemen! Although we Ukrainians have so many enemies, we will never cease to work for the end that the Ukrainian Republic might maintain its existence and that the Ukrainian people might live and work out its destiny freely and peacefully. I must mention the fact that the recent demonstration of the Poles, made under the pressure of Galician authorities, was intended to influence the disposal of the governorship and the starostaships*, and that it proved very suitable for its purpose. But how different was everything with the Ukrainian demonstrations! Many starostas directly prohibited Ukrainian demonstrations. Where are your equal rights? Polish starostas—only Poles are starostas—issue orders to discontinue work, to strike, and to make political demonstrations; yet these same starostas forbid the Ukrainian population to declare its will through mass-meetings, demonstrations, etc. (Hear! Hear!). That is Polish tolerance, and that is the way in which the boasted equality of rights is observed in Galicia. But in spite of all these interdicts, Ukrainian demonstrations were successfully held. Millions of people gathered—although the press is silent about this fact—and these millions were Ukrainians. Women, children, the aged, the infirm—all held gatherings; while most of our ripe manhood was at the front. These millions are holding demonstrations in their own behalf and in behalf of their Ukrainian fatherland. They strengthen us and give us hopes that our work will progress, that we shall secure our political existence against everyone and everything; and that we shall live to see the day when in spite of all the obstacles and embarrassments which have confronted us, we shall live peacefully in a free, independent Ukraine. (Thunderous applause).

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* A starosta is an official invested with administrative powers.

RESOLUTIONS

DRAWN UP TO PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON AND ADOPTED BY THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MASS-MEETING AT COOPER UNION HALL, NEW YORK CITY, ON JANUARY 16, 1919

WHEREAS, our great President, Woodrow Wilson, has deemed it his paramount duty to visit Europe in order to impress upon the representatives of the different governments about to assemble at the International Peace Conference at Versailles the principles which he formally announced as his own peace terms in his famous address delivered before the Congress of the United States on January 8, 1918, setting forth arrangements for the permanent peace of the world, for which principles he said, "we are willing to fight until they are achieved;" and,

WHEREAS, the fourteenth point enunciated by the President reads as follows:

> "XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

and,

WHEREAS, these bases of peace have been accepted by the Allied Governments as well as by the Central Powers, and the intention has been expressed by European statesmen, predicated upon the principle laid down by the President in his plea for an International League that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," to recognize and grant the just claims of the smaller nations, as they shall be self-determined by such nations;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this meeting that we solemnly pledge our unswerving loyalty and support to our illustrious President in his great mission to the Peace Conference, and in his impartial and conscientious application of the principles which he has laid down for the world's guidance in the direction of a permanent peace; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Commissioners Plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the said International Peace Conference be, and they are hereby, requested to represent and urge upon the said Conference the right to freedom, independence, and self-determination of all the Ukrainian territory, both in the former empire of Austria-Hungary and in Russia, so that hereafter no military power of any nation or group of nations shall be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule, except the right of force; and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of these resolutions, duly authenticated, be forwarded to our illustrious President and to the American Commissioners.

Dr. Cyril D. Billik, *Chairman of the Mass-Meeting.*

UKRAINE AND RUSSIA

BY THE DELEGATION OF THE UKRAINIAN REPUBLIC AT PARIS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Sir:

The Delegation of the Ukrainian Republic, having full power from its Government, asks you kindly to transmit to the Peace Conference at Paris, the following note, which is a development of the one already presented to you, on the subject of the recognition of Ukraine as an independent and free State:

The greatest enemy of the independence of the Ukrainian Republic is Russia with her present Bolshevik Government, following the same imperial policy which was pursued by the government of the Tsar and the provisional government of Russia—thus she wishes to pass over the body of Ukraine, in order to be able to put one hand on the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal, and the other on the Persian Gulf.

This is why the Ukrainian Government has waged a bitter war against the Bolshevik Government of Russia for more than a year with little interruption. This struggle will continue until the Bolshevik Government of Russia completely renounces its imperialistic designs. In this war Ukraine only defends her country and does not encroach upon the ethnographical frontiers of Russia, because she feels that she has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of a neighboring State.

It is true that the Bolshevik Government of Russia, in the desire of concealing its imperialistic intentions, always accused the Ukrainian Government, saying that the latter energetically opposed the pacifist propaganda of the Bolshevik ideas on the frontier of Ukraine and prevented the development of these same ideas in Western Europe by the intermediary of Rumania and Hungary.

In this war against the imperialistic intentions of the Bolshevik Government of Russia, the Ukrainian Republic did not remain isolated; the other independent states, notably Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, White Ruthenia, and Georgia, with whom the Ukrainian Republic is on the most friendly terms, were also opposed to the Bolshevik designs.

The independent Republic of Ukraine in association with all these states encircling the Bolshevik Russia in this way puts a check upon the imperialistic intentions of the Bolsheviks of Russia.

It is also necessary to remark that the former Russia, without any regard to her alliance with France, was always under a direct and strong German influence, which always upheld Russia, whole and undivided, in her struggle against the separatist efforts of the people. At the same time Germany exploited Russia from an economic point of view, especially by her traditional "Drang nach Osten", and she made one way pass by Constantinople and Bagdad and another by the German Colonies in Ukraine, thus leading towards Central Asia.

With the object of reconstructing this one and undivided Russia, Germany tried to strike a blow at the independence of the Ukrainian Republic by a "coup d'etat" in April, 1918; she effected the appointment of her agent Skoropadsky as dictator of Ukraine.

Now the Bolshevik Government of Russia is preparing to unite with Germany for a future attack on Western Europe. The independent Ukrainian Republic in union with the states already named, forms a strong barrier separating Russia from Germany, and this barrier will prevent them from uniting.

For this reason the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian Republic by the Allies and the United States of America, seems an indispensable act and is the only means of reestablishing permanent tranquillity and order in Eastern Europe.

I am, Sir, Yours faithfully,

Gregory Sidorenko,

Minister of Roads and Communications and Chairman of the Delegation of the Republic of Ukraine.

POLISH IMPERIALISTIC DESIGNS TOWARDS EAST GALICIA

A NOTE FROM THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT OF GALICIA TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

Berne, Switzerland, March 13, 1919.

Inasmuch as the negotiations at Lviv for an armistice between the Poles and Ukrainians have been discontinued, and in view of the fact that the mission of General Bartelmy has been unsuccessful, my Government has entrusted me with the duty of giving the Peace Conference at Paris the following information:

The failure of General Bartelmy's mission should not surprise anyone who had an opportunity of carefully following the tactics of this mission. After his arrival in Lviv, about the end of January, 1919, General Bartelmy did not try to hide the fact that he had brought ammunition for the Poles. From the very beginning he made no attempt to disguise his partiality to the Poles; he participated in Polish military parades; he made inspections of the Polish front lines; he constantly emphasized in his speeches the brotherhood of Poles and Frenchmen; he did, in fact, everything that would compromise him in his position of arbitrator in the quarrels between the Poles and Ukrainians. On the other hand he declared publicly that he did not know the Ukrainians; he did not strive to be informed about them, but on the contrary he did just the reverse of what the English and American missions had done. He estranged the Ukrainian military envoys with his haughty treatment of them. He refused to have any relations with the Government of West Ukraine, which commands the Ukrainian army in Galicia, and peremptorily refused to visit the Ukrainian fighting line, where he could examine the conditions personally. At the same time General Bartelmy did not hesitate to send false reports in which the Ukrainian soldiers were slandered as Bolsheviki, bandits, murderers of women and children, etc. At the opening negotiations General Bartelmy should have known that the Ukrainians would consent to a truce of arms only when the basis of the negotiations was the determination of the ethnographic Polish-Ukrainian boundaries in accordance with the principle of President Wilson. Meanwhile he condescended magnanimously to offer the Ukrainians half of their ethnographic territory, the whole of which has been occupied by the Ukrainians for the last four months, making his offer rest upon a supposed agreement of the Allies. When one considers that General Bartelmy submitted his terms to the Ukrainians at a time when these terms were of vital importance to the Poles, inasmuch as military successes were insuring the capture of Lviv, and that he thereby strengthened the position of the Poles, one can easily imagine the feeling prevailing in political and military circles. In these circumstances the resumption of hostilities was a political and military necessity.

The Ukrainian Government regrets to say that it has been unable to employ its forces on the eastern front against the Bolsheviki, but is in fact, obliged to transfer some of its forces on the eastern front to the western front in order to defend the land against the Poles. If the western frontiers of Ukraine are not determined, then the settlement of not only the Ukrainian but also the Eastern European question will be impossible. This is just the reason why the Ukrainian Government, unable to fight on two fronts, feels compelled to concentrate all its forces for the defense of its land against Polish invasion, and afterwards for the systematic liberation of the remaining Ukrainian lands in the east. If our efforts do not meet the success we desired, the blame will rest chiefly upon General Bartelmy, who evidently had no intention of devoting himself to the settlement of the difficulties between the Poles and Ukrainians, but on the contrary intended to paralyze the struggle of the Ukrainians and thereby to further the interests of the Poles.

Dr. Vassili Paneyko,

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of West Ukraine.

The Imperial Academy of Sciences of Petrograd, and the Ukrainian Language

When a revolution broke out in Russia in 1904, and when under the blows of this revolution and of many military defeats the very foundations of the Russian State were trembling, the Russian Government made up its mind to change its savage policies and to ameliorate the existing conditions. The Ukrainian people also was a little affected by this change in Russian policies. A Russian committee of ministers, while considering the restrictions placed upon publication in the Ukrainian language, advised the ministers of education and the ministers of the interior to investigate these restrictions and, after obtaining the views on this subject of the Governor of Kiev, of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and of the Universities of Kiev and Kharkov, to submit their opinions and conclusions to the committee of ministers. All the institutions whose opinion was sought in this matter recommended the immediate removal of the restrictions on the Ukrainian language. In particular, the Academy of Sciences of Petrograd prepared a lengthy memorial on this question. The memorial, bearing the seal of the Academy of Sciences, was presented to the ministers.

The Academy of Sciences chose a special commission of the most eminent professors and specialists of Russia to prepare this memorial. The members of the commission—Korsh, Famintsin, Zalensky, Fortunatov, Shakhmatov, Danilevsky, and Oldenburg—were all Muscovites, with the exception of Zalensky. Shakhamatov, who was famous throughout Europe as a specialist in philology and old-Russian literature, was commissioned to prepare the most important and detailed report on the subject.

The salient feature of the report of the Academy of Sciences of Petrograd is the declaration that the Ukrainian people is a distinct nation which has its own language and literature and its own historical traditions, and is entitled to an unrestricted national development. The memorial does not contain even a trace of the opinion that the Ukrainian language is a dialect of the Russian language. It clearly regards the Russian people and the Ukrainian people and the Russian language and the Ukrainian language as equally distinct national entities, and *does not mention any all-Russian people or language.*

The memorial shows conclusively that *the all-Russian language does not and never did exist,* and that the so-called all-Russian literary language is the language only of the Muscovites or Russians and is completely foreign to the Ukrainian people.

This memorial of the Academy of Sciences of Petrograd was printed in 1905; and of the very few copies extant, one is possessed by the Public Library of New York City. In 1905, chiefly on account of this memorial the Russian Government repealed the law of 1876 which prohibited all publication in the Ukrainian language.

A SONG WITHOUT WORDS

A Story Reminiscent of the Tsarist Rule in Ukraine

In the little village of Krestchati Yari under shady willows and slender poplars, we had gathered for refreshment. It was an unusually beautiful day. The trees swayed gently in the breeze, and their leaves rustled as if they were whispering to one another some awful tale of mystery. Behind the willows, within a verdant grove, could be seen a little old schoolhouse, near which newly-clad children, bearing colored Easter eggs in their hands, were romping about, making a queer indistinguishable noise.

"Do not pluck those buds," shouted an older boy to one of his younger companions; "they will grow into blossoms and then into fruit."

"What's that to you?" retorted the youngster, spitefully tearing the buds from the branch of a cherry tree and quickly running away.

A group of men and boys were stretched out on the grass lawn in front of the schoolhouse, pleasantly chatting about something. Suddenly the curly-headed schoolmaster appeared in the open window and announced that it was time to sing. The children rushed into the weatherworn little building with great enthusiasm, pushing and jostling one another in their excitement; while the elders followed in a more dignified way.

Soon the entire grove resounded with their singing of a most delightful melody. The music passed through various phases, now swelling into an ocean of passion, now flowing gracefully like a lazy summer rivulet, and at times dying down until it was barely audible. Captivated by its exquisite beauty, I approached the window that I might hear it more distinctly. The whole assemblage was humming the song "Oi, Hai, Mahti." With his hair disheveled and his arms swinging like the wings of an eagle in full flight, the schoolmaster conducted the humming with surprising vivacity. When all of the song had been thus strangely rendered, the nearly exhausted teacher came to the window to get a bit of the cool, fresh air.

"What song were you humming?" I asked abruptly.

The schoolmaster was not a little startled, but replied graciously, "'Oi, Hai, Mahti'."

"But why didn't the choir sing the words?"

"It is forbidden to sing Ukrainian songs in school; hence we do not sing the songs — we only learn their tunes. I have taught the people many airs; for I believe that if they know the music, they will supply their own words."

"And is also the singing of Muscovite songs forbidden?"

"No," answered the schoolmaster, "Muscovite songs may be sung. But my pupils do not wish to sing them; they do not like them."

After a short rest the singers assembled again, and the crafty instructor had them rehearse another song, "Oi, Seev Poohach." Manly and boyish voices united in one mighty sound, which bore to the Creator their complaint of the injustice on earth.

In the early evening, when it was still twilight, we resumed our journey. The peasant singers were just leaving the schoolhouse. They walked along the bank of the River Ross, singing,

"Not well, Zaporozhian Cossacks, not well have you managed."

The magic words of the song, full of despondency and melancholy, cut sharply into my heart and gave rise to many thoughts of the past. We were well beyond the outskirts of the village, and still the words of that song rang in our ears and reproved us in our hearts:

"Not well, Zaporozhian Cossacks, not well have you managed;
The Steppe was broad, the land was fair—
Through neglect you lost them."

THE FLIGHT OF THE THREE BROTHERS FROM AZOV.

(Duma)

Translated from the Ukrainian.

Oi, from the city of Azov heavy fogs rising!
Three brothers are fleeing like gray pigeons
From the town of Azov,
From Turkish captivity,
To the Christian land, to father and mother, to their own kinsmen.

Two brothers are mounted; the third one, the youngest,
Must run barefooted, must run after his brothers.
With white pebbles, with rough-pronged, sun-dried roots
His little youthful, Cossack's feet are bruised,
His footsteps steeped in blood.

Thus he cries to the brothers on horseback:
"O my own brothers, ye gray Pigeons! do now your utmost,
Take me, the youngest brother, between your horses,
To the Christian land, to father and mother,
To our kinsmen bear me!"

The brothers hear him and make answer:
"O little dear brother, thou gray Pigeon,
Gladly would we take thee between our horses;
But then would the Azov Orda* overtake us,
Would cut us down to our stumps,
And cause us great anguish."

So saying, they quicken their speed,
But the younger brother,
Barefooted ever, runs and runs after,
Seizes the stirrups, and bedews them with tears.

"O my own brothers, ye gray Pigeons,
If now between ye, neither will bear me,
Shoot me, cut me down; on the steppes bury me,
But leave me not as a prey for beasts and birds!"

And the brothers hear and answer:
"O dear brother, thou gray Pigeon!
Thy words pierce us like unto knives,
We might not lift our swords against thee;
They would fall into a score of pieces:
Who sayeth farewell in a manner like this?"

* A Tatar horde.

Then the youngest brother, barefooted ever,
Runs after them, entreating,
"O my own brothers, ye gray Pigeons.
When ye reach the bushy valleys,
Cut the tips of the thorn-bushes,
Leave them to your youngest brother, barefooted ever,
For a mark and a sign
How to flee from the hard captivity to the Christian land,
To father and mother, to our kinsmen."

When the elder brothers reached the bairaki*
And the meleusi, valleys of the thorn-bush,
They cut down the thorn-tops, as a mark left them
For the younger brother, walking barefooted.

But when through the valleys there was no more thorn-bush,
On the Muravsky highway
Bare steppes and endless were stretching before them,
Where shone the green grass,
Outlines of grave-hills were seen in the distance.
Then spake the second brother,

"O my own brother, thou gray Pigeon,
Let me now ponder.
From our red zhupans tear off the black knots,
These on the steppes scatter,
As a mark for our brother, our youngest brother,
Walking barefooted;
For help—that he reach it, the Land of the Christians,
The father and mother, the kinsfolk."

And the elder brother, hearing, spake thus:
"My dear brother, thou gray Pigeon,
If we tear off the black knots from our red zhupans,
What will we do then when God permits us
To reach our father, our mother, and kinsmen?
How would we garb us to dance with 'white youth'?"

But the second brother listens not to him,
Tears off the black knots from the red zhupan,
On the Muravsky highway leaves them
As a mark for the youngest brother, barefooted.

Laughed then the elder:
"O my own brother, thou gray Pigeon,
Thou hast brains of a woman
To destroy such good raiment! When God allows us
To greet father and mother and kinsmen
What wilt thou dress in? In what, dance with 'white youth'?"

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* Bairak—valley in the steppes along river slopes, covered with thorn and wild rose bushes.

So speaking, they flee from thence, not one day, nor two,
Till they reach Savoor-Mohila;
On its top resting, resting three days.
Meanwhile the youngest, barefooted walking,
Reaches thickets, bairaki;
The thorn-tops grasping, to his heart pressing,
Bedewing with tears:
"Here, too, my brothers, the riders, have passed!
They cut the branches and tops of the thorn-bush,
To a barefooted walker left for a sign
To guide him in flight
From hard slavery
To the Christian land,
To see father and mother and kin."
So saying, he ran on farther.
He passed through the land of thorns—
Of bairaki and meleusi there was no more;
A vast plain only stretched before him.
Now he ran along the highway,
Saw black knots of a red zhupan,
To his youthful Cossack's heart pressed, and bedewed with tears.
"Here were my two brothers fleeing,
Doubtless Horde of Azov chased them,
Cut, and crushed them into pieces.
But the Tartars passed me by there,
While I rested in bairaki.
If I could but find my brothers,
Bury them in open steppe,
Prey no more for beast and bird."
Weary with the drought, starvation,
A wind felled him to the earth.
But he reached the Vavoor grave-hill,
He climbed up the Savoor grave-hill,
On the ninth day resting safely,
Waiting raindrops from the heavens.
Brief his rest—gray wolves came to him,
Black-winged eagles fluttered round him,
At his head they sat them down.
Gloomy, living funeral waiting,
Eyes to tear from out his sockets.
With these words he spoke unto them.
"O gray wolves and black-winged eagles,
My dear guests!
Wait ye, wait ye for a season
When the Cossack's soul and body
Sever, disunite;
Tear you out my kari* eyes then,
Pick white flesh from yellow bones,
River bank canes then will hide them."

* Coal-black.

Then he lay there resting.
Now his fingers all are nerveless,
Now his feet refuse to bear him.
Now his bright eyes seek the heavens
And see nothing. He 'sighs deeply:
"Oi, head of the youthful Cossack,
Thou hast been in Turkish countries,
In the faith of Infidels!
Now perish—drought and famine—
Now the ninth day hath no bread passed
Through these lips. I die of thirsting!"

While he spoke thus,
Not a black cloud in the heavens,
Not a breath of windy tempest.
And the Cossack's soul, so youthful,
Had departed from the body.

Then the gray wolves came yet closer,
And the black-winged eagles nearer,
At his head they sat them down;
Tore the black eyes from the sockets,
Picked white flesh from yellow bones,
Covered them with river canes.

When the elder brothers meantime
Came to banks of the Samarka,
When the dark night did embrace them,
In this manner spake the eldest,
To his second brother saying:

"Little brother, let us stay here,
Graze our horses on wide grave-hills;
The herbage is good, the waters are cold,
Let us stop here and wait.
Maybe he, our barefoot brother,
Maybe he will reach us shortly.
Then, because my heart yearns for him,
I would cast away my treasure
And between our horses grasp him,
Bring him to the Christian land."

"Ah, brother! Why bore you not him ere this?
Nów the ninth day all but passes
When he might eat bread and salt,
Drinking with it water.
Doubtless long ere this he's perished."

Horses loose a-grazing,
Saddles for their pillows,
For the dawn-star waiting,
Sleep descended on them.
When God's sun was rising,

Saddled they the horses,
Crossed Samarka River,
To Christian lands a-fleeing.

Then the elder brother spake thus to the second:
"Little brother, on arriving,
What's the tale we shall be telling?
If the truth we're speaking,
Curses from our father,
Curses from our mother!
If we lie unto them,
God will punish surely,
Seen by us, or seen not.

"Let us say we dwelt not
With the same hard masters,
We fled in the night-time
From slavery and toiling,
But we ran and woke him:
'Wake and flee, O brother!
With us, Cossack-captives'.
But anon he answered,
'I will yet remain here,
Stay to make my fortune'.
So with this tale ready,
When die father, mother,
We'll divide the cattle,
We will share the fields,
No third one interfering."
In this fashion spake they...

'Twas not blue eagles shrieking,
But Turk Janizaries
Stole from round a grave-hill,
Smote and shot them down,
Booty and the horses taking back to Turkey.

So the heads of the two brothers
Fell by the Samarka River,
The third head on Savoor grave-hill.
But their fame will never die;
It will live for ever.

FLORENCE RANDAL LIVESAY.
(Author of "Songs of Ukraina").